The Pope is King

Civis Romanus

THE POPE IS KING

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From This Room

THE POPE IS KING

by

CIVIS ROMANUS

With 17 *Illustrations*

Paul G. Larkin

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THE POPE IS KING

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INTRODUCTION

THE subject dealt with in this book is a suggestive and delicate one. It goes to the very roots of the religious and political conscience of men; it brings back to our memory and imagination phantoms of a past full of lights and shadows; it invites discussion and stimulates speculation. It is a subject which interests Italy and the whole world; which appeals to Catholics and to non-Catholics alike, to believers as well as to freethinkers. Historians, philosophers, and politicians may find in it abundant material for meditation. It is, in a word, a fascinating subject.

The author, however, has made a special effort to escape this fascination. His purpose was to write a purely informative and impartial book, to chronicle the events of the Reconciliation between Italy and the Pope, with their remote and immediate antecedents, and to describe some of the scenes that he personally has had the privilege of witnessing in Rome.

If, as a consequence, the book lacks an individual and critical perspective, the author hopes that he has at least succeeded in presenting the facts accurately and in honestly recording the divergent opinions expressed on all sides. The reader will draw his own conclusion. The author is content to repeat with Dante:

Messo t'ho innanzi; omai pez te ti ciba.
(I have set before thee; now feed thou thyself.)

C. R.

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CHAPTER I

THE ROMAN QUESTION

From Napoleon I to the Congress of Vienna—Pope Pius IX and Neo-Guelphism—Hopes disappointed—King Victor Emmanuel II writes to the Pope—Cavour and his formula: A Free Church in a Free State—*Non possumus*—*Rome or Death*—The breach of Porta Pia—The Leonine City—The Law of Guarantees—Leo XIII—The Roman Question and the Triple Alliance—The *Non expedit*—Pius X—Benedict XV and the War—The schemes of Erzberger—A notable declaration by Cardinal Gasparri—The *Non expedit* lifted—Catholic deputies enter Parliament.

THE Conventions signed on February 11, 1929, in the Lateran Palace at Rome by Signor Mussolini, as the plenipotentiary of Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, and by Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, as the plenipotentiary of his Holiness Pope Pius XI, are of great importance, not only for Italy and the Holy See, but for the whole world. They have settled a grave question which affected directly the Italian State and the Vatican, and indirectly

all Catholics and the various civilized Powers. At the same time they have raised other questions, of a religious and political character, the development of which will be seen in the years to come.

The outstanding and visible fact which emerges from the Treaty of February 11 is the re-establishment, although in an insignificant degree, of the Temporal Power of the Popes. This is the fact which has especially fired the imagination of the public. The Pope, who from 1870 lived in seclusion within the Vatican Palaces, "a prisoner of himself," to quote the words of a celebrated ode of the Jacobin poet Carducci, will now come out into the world in perfect freedom, honoured everywhere not only as the spiritual head of the Catholic Church, but once again as a temporal Prince exercising sovereign rights over a State in miniature.

The year 1870 cannot be regarded as the first and only historical date in connection with the Temporal Power. During their long dominion the Popes lost their States on other occasions, and had to abandon the Eternal City several times for periods of time more or less brief. Without mentioning the stormy vicissitudes

through which the Holy See passed during the Middle Ages, as, for example, in 1527 when the troops of the Emperor Charles V sacked Rome, it will be sufficient to recall the humiliations and the spoliations it suffered at the time of the French Revolution and of Napoleon.

In 1797 Pope Pius VI had been attacked in his States by the French troops led by General Bonaparte and had been obliged to come to an agreement with his aggressor. As a condition of peace, which was signed at Tolentino (February 19, 1797), the Pope, in addition to paying a war indemnity and handing over to France many precious works of art, was obliged to cede the three Legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna, as well as Avignon and the area under its jurisdiction. Napoleon thus obtained from the Pontiff an explicit renunciation of territories that the Holy See had always declared to be inalienable. A year later, on February 10, 1798, General Berthier, on the pretext of revenging the death of a French subject, conquered Rome in the name of revolutionary France and had the old and unhappy Pius VI carried away as a prisoner.

His successor, Pius VII, was hardly more for-

tunate. In 1809, in fact, Napoleon, having become Emperor, in his irritation at the non-observance by the Pope of the Continental blockade of England, had Rome occupied by French troops and decreed the end of the Temporal Power of the Popes (Schönbrunn decree of May 17, 1809). Several clauses of this decree and some of the considerations raised by it are interesting. It was stated in the preamble that Charlemagne had made a dotation to the Bishops of Rome of various lands as to feudatories, but that Rome had not for this reason ceased to be a part of the French Empire; it mentioned besides that the union of the two powers, spiritual and temporal, had in the same hands become a source of continual disagreements. Consequently the decree annexed the Pontifical States to the French Empire; proclaimed Rome to be an "Imperial and Free City"; fixed for the Pope an annual dotation of two million francs, and relieved the Pontifical palaces from all taxes. The Pope refused the dotation, but in the end concluded with Napoleon I the Concordat of January 13, 1813. Article 2 of the Concordat read:

The ambassadors, the ministers, the chargés d'affaires of the Powers accredited to the Holy Father, and the ambassadors, the ministers, and the chargés d'affaires that the Pope may nominate to foreign Powers, will enjoy the immunities and privileges which are enjoyed by the members of the Diplomatic Corps.

Napoleon had first persecuted the Supreme Pontiff, and had then realized that a reconciliation with the head of the Catholic Church was more convenient to his policy. Nevertheless, it was only after his first fall that the Pope felt reassured and safe. A few days after the arrival of Napoleon at Elba, Pius VII made his triumphal return to Rome (May 24, 1814). During the Hundred Days the Pope was not disturbed, and finally his power was legally reconstituted and recognized by the Congress of Vienna. By this settlement, the States of the Pope stretched from the Latin coast across the Campagna and the Tiber Valley, over the highlands of Umbria and the Central Apennines to the Marches of Fermo and Ancona; thence, turning northwards along a narrow strip of country between the Tuscan Apennines and the sea, they spread into the fertile plains of Ro-

magna and were bounded by the Po. The population numbered two and a half millions.

But like all the rest that the Congress of Vienna had artificially restored, the Temporal Power was to be only short-lived. The French Revolution and the Napoleonic cyclone had cast on Italian soil seeds which were destined sooner or later to germinate. Immediately after the Congress a great liberal ferment began to show itself throughout the peninsula. The violent methods by which the various princes attempted to suffocate it and the repressions and persecutions of despotic governments served only to augment its strength. The idea of independence from the foreigner began to gain ground everywhere. The Congress of Vienna had partitioned Italy into eight States. Piedmont and the Austrian provinces divided the north; the Papal States, Tuscany, the petty duchies of Modena, Parma, and Lucca occupied the centre; the Kingdom of Naples covered the southern mainland and Sicily. In all these States the reaction encountered a decided resistance from Italian patriots, who joined together in secret societies and prepared conspiracies and rebellions. The

most famous of these secret societies was that of the Carbonari. Their revolutions in the Kingdom of Naples as well as later in Piedmont broke down, and the result was a new tightening of the screw. Many patriots were carried off to prisons, the horrors of which were to be denounced to the civilized world by Gladstone, while others had to flee into exile. But the idea of the unity of Italy was launched, and nothing was to succeed in arresting it.

In the Papal States, wretchedly governed by a corrupt ecclesiastical oligarchy, luxurious and sometimes vicious, the ferment was no less strong than elsewhere. When in the summer of 1846 Pope Gregory died, conditions were very critical: Romagna was known to be on the point of revolt, and petitions for reform, signed by thousands, came to warn or encourage the members of the Conclave which met on June 14 to choose his successor. This proved to be Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti, who was proclaimed Pope (June 17) and assumed the name of Pius IX.

The new Pope—one reads in Bolton King's *History of Italian Unity*—came of an old and decayed family of Sinigaglia, long famous for nationalist sentiment down to their cats, as the

saying went. He was at heart inclined towards liberal ideas and loved Italy. He had read the books of enlightened patriots such as Gioberti and d'Azeglio. As Bishop at Spoleto and Imola, he had dealt mercifully with the Liberals and had won a name for graciousness and kindliness in reconciling the opposing factions. A month after his elevation to the Papal throne, he granted amnesty for political offences, and this act was hailed throughout Italy with acclamations. All thought to see in Pius the long-expected reformer, the creator of the new Italy, the mediator between Catholicism and democracy. Of the various currents of opinion, Republican, Liberal, Democrat, and Neo-Guelph, which then divided the Italian patriots (who, however, were all agreed in wishing the country freed of foreign domination and in one way or another given her unity), it was the Neo-Guelphs who at the time appeared to have gained the upper hand. They were in favour of a scheme for a Confederation of Italian States, of which Rome should become a member. The Government of Piedmont then sent to Rome the philosopher Rosmini, a noble and high-minded divine; his mission was to start negotiations for

By courtesy of the *Illustrazione Italiana.*

The Crowd in the Piazza of St. Peter Awaiting the Papal Benediction (February 12th, 1929).

a Confederation between the States of the Church, the Kingdom of Sardinia and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, of which the Pope was to be the President. That was the first attempt at conciliation between Rome and Italy. Had the project been realized, the absolute sovereignty of the Pope would have undergone a very noticeable diminution, since the chief attributes of sovereignty would have been transferred to a Diet of Representatives of the various States. But nothing came of it. What would have become of Italy if that federal unity had been brought about, it is useless now to consider. It is, however, true and historically proved, that Pope Pius IX did not show himself hostile to the idea, which would have set the Temporal Power upon a new path. Instead an intransigent policy prevailed. The Pope, who had been genuinely popular when he assumed the tiara and up to 1848, fell little by little under the influence of the Jesuits and of obscurantist elements. All the hopes that had been placed in him as on a possible champion of the cause of independence and of freedom were miserably disappointed.

Yet this cause, in spite of many set-backs, was destined to triumph. It was not long before the

revolution broke out in Rome itself. The Pope was compelled to flee to Gaeta, and on February 9, 1849, a Constituent Assembly proclaimed the fall of the Temporal Power. It is interesting to note that a special article of this decree established that the Pope should have "all the guarantees necessary for independence in the exercise of his spiritual authority." There followed the vicissitudes of the Roman Republic, inspired by Giuseppe Mazzini and defended heroically but unsuccessfully by Garibaldi against French arms in overwhelming strength. On April 12, 1850, Pius IX returned to Rome under an escort of foreign soldiers, with scarcely a sign of popular welcome. It was a gloomy contrast to the ovation that had greeted him two brief years before. But, as Gioberti wrote: "Gaeta had raised an impassable wall between prince and people."

After the failure of the revolutionary attempts of 1848 and of the war that Piedmont had waged against Austria the following year, a new period of reaction set in throughout Italy, and the Pope allowed himself to be ruled completely by the ultramontanes, who showed themselves unscrupulous and short-sighted guides. The ten years from 1849 to 1859 were years of

waiting and preparation. Having abandoned the dream of an Italian Confederation headed by the Pope, who, indeed, had by now thrown in his lot with the enemies of independence, freedom, and constitutional reform, the eyes of the patriots were turned almost exclusively to Piedmont, where an enlightened and courageous king, Victor Emmanuel II, and a great statesman, Count Camillo di Cavour, were keeping alive the flame of the national ideal and preparing to realize it by means of a wise policy and very skilful diplomacy. The Roman Question, understood as a conflict between the aspirations for national unity and the Pontifical State, was now on the horizon; in a short time it would have imposed itself as a delicate and difficult problem on public opinion. All felt that sooner or later it would be necessary to face it. Its negotiation appeared, in fact, urgent after the campaign of 1859. The victories of the Italian and French armies at Magenta, Solferino, and San Martino were paving the way to independence. All Italy was seething with excitement; the risen provinces were proclaiming their annexation to Piedmont; the movement for unity could no longer be arrested.

King Victor Emmanuel personally addressed to the Pope the famous letter dated March 20, 1860, beseeching him to accept conciliation:

Both justice and the civil *raison d'État* counsel a careful effort at conciliating the old privileges with the new order of things; and it is for this reason that, trusting the charity and wisdom of Your Beatitude, I ask you to make this task easy to my Government, which, on its part, will leave nothing undone to bring about the desired end. Should, therefore, Your Holiness welcome benevolently the present opening of negotiations, my Government, always ready to pay homage to the high sovereignty of the Apostolic See, would also be disposed to make up in fair measure the diminution of the revenues and to see to the safety and independence of the Apostolic See. And now that with loyal words I have opened my mind to Your Holiness, I will await your decisions in the hope that, through the good-will of both Governments, an agreement may be reached, which, resting on the consent of the Princes and on the satisfaction of the peoples, may be such as to give a stable basis to the relations of the two States.

But nothing was done. The Pope was immovable. Yet the relations between the Italian State and the Church might at any time have entered upon an acute phase, and the danger

could not escape the far-seeing mind of Cavour, who did not fail to take steps to explore the possibilities of the position. The attempt was purely informal. Pantaleoni, a Roman doctor, was instructed to open negotiations with the Vatican, using Cardinal Santucci as an intermediary. Their object was to study the possibility of an agreement. The suggested basis was that the Pope should relinquish temporal power and be recognized as a nominal and inviolable sovereign, a subject of no State; that he should be provided with such possessions (the Vatican and certain other palaces) as would suffice for the needs and dignity of his Court; and that these possessions should be immune from political interference by the Government. The inviolability of the Conclave and liberty of relations with foreign Powers and with all Christendom were to be assured. All laws and rules contrary to ecclesiastical liberties were to be abolished. The Italian Government was to renounce any interference with the appointment of bishops, and absolute liberty was to be given to the clergy within the limits of their jurisdiction.

Cavour's formula was: "A Free Church in a

Free State." The Italian people, he argued, were profoundly Catholic. Schism had never taken deep roots among them. It was, therefore, all the more desirable that the antagonism between them and the directors of their religion should cease. Much of that antagonism was traceable to the fact that the Pope, in his character of Italian prince, had seemed a political rival to his fellow Italian princes, who had consequently imposed many restrictions upon his ecclesiastical functions. "To vindicate the complete independence of the Church from the State in spiritual affairs," Cavour argued, "is doubtless the noblest and loftiest mission that Pope Pius IX could undertake." Italy, he said, was the only Catholic country which could aid Pius to fulfil this glorious mission, and Victor Emmanuel, the only sovereign who could set the example of renouncing franchises, to guard which had been one of the hinges of European politics. By these and other considerations Cavour hoped that the Pope and his advisers would realize that the great boon of a free Church would far more than offset the loss of Temporal Power. As the Church had always been strongest when the Papacy was weakest, so the zenith of the Papacy,

when in its luxury, splendour, and worldliness it surpassed the other unbridled princedoms of the Renaissance, saw the falling away from Catholicism of half of Christendom, followed by the degeneration of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, and the spread of scepticism in France. Providence seemed to have set before the Pope the opportunity of making the Church once more a mighty religious and moral influence, untrammelled by the political, mundane, and corrupting interests of the Papacy.

The ensuing negotiations kept their informal character throughout and did not succeed. A clearly hostile atmosphere and a very rigid opposition in principle were created in the Vatican. Yet, as W. R. Thayer remarks in his *Life of Cavour*—

> the claim that Temporal Power was indispensable to the Pope's spiritual functions was, like the claim of the divine right of kings, a comparatively modern invention. In the New Testament there is not a hint that a religious leader must also possess political authority. Herod, not Jesus, was the King of Judea. The disciples of Jesus and their successors acquired no pomp as satrap or proconsul. It was only in the Renaissance that the King usurped the first place over the Pope in the Pope-King partnership. . . .

And as the Pontiffs' incapacity to govern what remained of the Kingdom of the Church became notorious, they protested all the more vehemently that their temporal rule was necessary to the Church. . . . Yet no Papalist would admit that during the exile of Pius VI and VII when the Papal States ceased to exist for fifteen years, or during the Republican interregnum of 1848–9, the decrees of the Church were diminished by a hair's-breadth in authority. The historic evolution of the Papacy was clear to any one allowed to consult history; but when the politicians of the Curia saw Temporal Power slipping away, they insisted more desperately on its preservation, and some of them would have embodied it in a dogma. The reasons chiefly urged by them were that without the Temporal Power the Pope might be hindered in his communications with the Catholic world, or he might fall under the influence of the Italian Government. To this Cavour and Liberal Italians replied that, as the Pope had depended since 1815 upon the armed protection of either France or Austria, or of both, he could not be regarded as free, while the fact that the sovereigns of Austria, France, Spain, and Portugal could and did exercise a veto at the election of a Pope was proof direct of secular interference. Many declared that the true reason for pressing the claim to Temporal Power could not be avowed; it was to prevent the monopoly of the Catholic hierarchy from passing out of the hands of the Italians. The offices, the sinecures, above all, the

power, should not be shared with foreign Cardinals; four-sevenths of the College of Cardinals and nine-tenths of the Papal bureaucracy should remain Italian. Foreign Catholics, at least among the higher ecclesiastics, accepted this condition, because it gave them a special authority at home. . . .

These pages of the book of W. R. Thayer give an exact idea of the discussions and the sentiments of the so-called "temporalists" on the one hand, and the "conciliatorists" on the other. It is doubtful if, in face of the formula that was now adopted by the Holy See, *Non possumus*—a precise, imposing, almost sacramental formula, given in the name of the Divine Law—Cavour would in time have succeeded in his intention. Unfortunately, he died at a relatively early age (June 6, 1861), when his great dream of Italian unity had not been realized. It is reported that on his death-bed, when he saw and recognized Father Giacomo who was bringing him the holy oil, he grasped the priest's hand and murmured: "Friar, friar! a Free Church in a Free State!"

The Cavour formula is the one which from that time onwards has inspired Italian liberal policy. The unity of Italy was inconceivable

without Rome as the capital. It was necessary, then, to go to Rome, but to go there with the greatest respect for the Pope and with the maximum guarantee for his absolute independence and spiritual sovereignty. The Italian State—in the Cavour and Liberal conception—should be a lay and not a confessional State, but Catholic should be its religion and the exercise of this religion should be absolutely free. If this conception had been accepted by the Vatican, many years of struggle would have been saved and a wave of anti-clericalism which harmed the Church not a little and religious sentiment itself, would have been avoided. Worthy of note is the fact that then conciliation was desired not only by the Liberals, but, one may say, by the whole of the better part of the clergy, as is proved by the so-called Passaglia address of 1862, signed by 12,000 priests and conveyed to the Pope with the prayer that he might heed and pronounce a word of "peace." The petition had the opposite of its desired effect. The Catholic newspapers disapproved of it. The signatories, guilty of having dared to suggest that the Pope should relinquish the Temporal Power, were regarded with suspicion, and dis-

ciplinary action was taken against them. The Roman Question had now assumed almost a theological aspect; the perturbation of the religious conscience was great.

In the meantime events pursued their fatal course. The motto *Rome or Death* had become the motto of the Italian patriots. King Victor Emmanuel and his Government proceeded with all caution, making every effort to check the more impatient currents and to avoid any trouble with foreign Powers, especially Napoleon III, who had done so much for the Italian cause in 1859 but who was obliged to maintain his troops in Rome in defence of the Pope to satisfy the French Catholic clergy. Nevertheless, the efforts of Piedmont did not succeed in preventing rebellions and raids by volunteer bands into the Papal States, which had been gradually hewn down to a precarious minimum embracing the strip of coast between the Tuscan and Neapolitan shores and some twenty or thirty miles inland including Viterbo, Tivilo, Velletri and Frosinone, with a population of little more than half a million souls. In 1867 Garibaldi, disavowed by the Government of the King, penetrated into Papal territory with the

object of seizing Rome by arms, but he was defeated at Mentana by the French troops. Three years afterwards, when Napoleon III was engaged in his disastrous war with Germany, the moment seemed to be propitious, and the Royal troops, who had encountered only slight resistance, entered Rome through the famous breach of Porta Pia (September 20, 1870).

On entering Rome, General Raffaele Cadorna did not occupy immediately the Leonine City, that is, the Vatican quarter divided from the city proper by the Tiber. The act of capitulation, signed on the one hand by General Cadorna and on the other by the Commander of the pontifical troops, General Kanzler, stipulated that the whole of the city should be handed over with the exception of this quarter. It was in the Leonine City, indeed, that the Zouaves gathered on the 20th and passed the night encamped in the Piazza of St. Peter's, leaving the city only on the following day with the honours of war. On September 21, however, some looting occurred in the Leonine City, and it was then that the Secretary of State of Pius IX, Cardinal Antonelli, asked for the intervention of Italian troops to maintain order,

and all the quarter was occupied with the exception of the Vatican.

This precedent is worth recalling, as the supporters of the rights of the Pope have made use of it, while it has been the starting point of many projects of conciliation. No peace treaty, they maintained, has ever been signed to put an end to the state of war between the Italian State and the Pontiff. The last document signed by the two parties is the act of capitulation, which established that the Leonine City is not to be occupied: hence from the legal point of view the Leonine City still belongs to the Pope. In support of this argument they cite also the circular that the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs of the time, the Marchese Visconti-Venosti, had sent to the representatives of Italy abroad, dated August 27, 1870, when the occupation of Rome was being prepared and an attempt was being made to arrange by negotiation that Pius IX should absent himself. "The Pope," this circular said, "is to preserve the dignity, the inviolability and all the other prerogatives of a sovereign and in addition the pre-eminence over the King and all other Sovereigns which are established by custom. The title of Prince with

the relative honours is recognized as due to the Cardinals of the Roman Church. *The Leonine City is to remain under the full jurisdiction and sovereignty of the Pontiff.*"

The reply made in some quarters to the supporters of the above thesis was that no treaty was any longer possible with a State which no longer existed after the capitulation. Others asserted, with greater reason, that the inhabitants of the Leonine City had participated with the other Romans in the plebiscite which signified their adhesion to Italy, and that by the plebiscite "Rome and the Roman Province" had been declared "an integrant part of the Kingdom of Italy"; that in any case, by approving in 1871 the Law of Guarantees, the Italian Parliament had actually declared the end of pontifical sovereignty over any territory whatsoever, so much so that the very palaces of the Vatican were declared to be the property of the State and their use had only been granted to the Pontiff as a concession.

The Law of Guarantees, which was passed on May 13, 1871, contained the following articles:

Article 1. The person of the Supreme Pontiff is sacred and inviolable.

Article 2. Attempts against the person of the Supreme Pontiff and provocation to commit such attempts are punishable by the same penalties established in the case of attempts and provocations to commit such attempts against the person of the King.

Discussion on religious matters is completely free.

Article 3. The Italian Government renders to the Supreme Pontiff, in the territory of the Kingdom, sovereign honours; he maintains the pre-eminence of honours recognized to him by Catholic sovereigns. The Supreme Pontiff may keep the customary number of guards attached to his person and for the custody of the palaces, without prejudice to the obligations and duties devolving upon such guards under the laws in force of the Kingdom.

Article 4. An annual dotation of Lire 3,225,000 is earmarked in favour of the Holy See.

Article 5. The Supreme Pontiff, in addition to the dotation fixed in the preceding article, continues to enjoy the free use of the Vatican and Lateran apostolic palaces, with all the buildings, gardens, annexed and dependent grounds, as well as the villa of Castel Gandolfo with all its appurtenances and dependencies.

The said palaces, villa and annexes, as well as the museums, the library, and the art and archæological collections therein, are inalienable and exempt from all taxes or expropriation for reasons of public utility.

Article 6. During the vacancy of the pontifical throne, no judicial or political authority may, for any reason whatsoever, place impediments in the way or limit the personal freedom of the Cardinals. The Government arranges that the meetings of the Conclave and of the Œcumenical Council be not disturbed by any external violence.

The other 13 articles establish the inviolability of the Apostolic Palaces and of the Pontifical Congregations; the freedom of the Pontiff in the exercise of his spiritual ministry and in his correspondence with the Bishops; the rights of the ecclesiastics attached to the Pontifical Court, even if foreigners; the prerogatives of the Nuncios and of the Ambassadors of the Powers accredited to the Pope in accordance with the regulations of international law; the non-interference by the Government in the seminaries and other pontifical institutes of study; and the relations between Church and State as regards the nominations of Bishops, the

The Lateran Palace.

concession of benefices and the administration of ecclesiastical properties. Legislation in these matters varied according to the old States and on this occasion a unification was secured which was to have been only provisional but which has lasted up to our own times and has only been definitely systematized by the Concordat now signed.

In substance, then, the Law of Guarantees proclaimed the abolition of the Temporal Power of the Popes, thus setting the seal upon the unity of Italy, and at the same time gave the Pontiff all assurances in respect of the free and full exercise of his spiritual functions. The nature of the sovereignty with which the Pope was thus invested—a sovereignty without territory—was new and exceptional in history. It was said at the time that a concession had been made by the State and "not a recognition of sovereignty having in itself the reason for its existence"; it was what the jurists call *jus singulare*.

The Law of Guarantees was and remained a unilateral law of the Italian State. It was never recognized and accepted by the Pope. After September 20, 1870, the Pope considered him-

self deprived of his power by force, *sub hostili potestate constitutus,* reduced to the state of a prisoner of the Italian State. Soon after his entry into Rome, General Raffaele Cadorna had asked permission to visit the Pope; the Vatican did not grant it. When Victor Emmanuel II went, on December 31 of the same year, for the first time, to the Eternal City, part of which was flooded by the Tiber, he sent his aide-de-camp, the Marchese Spinola, to convey his respects to the Pope; but Pius IX declined to receive him.

The King always hoped that Pius IX would recognize the *fait accompli,* but the Pope, who had launched five excommunications against him, in ten years always remained immovable. The bitterness with which the clergy and the intransigent Catholics discussed the Roman question can hardly be imagined. All the Catholic papers distinguished themselves by their fighting attitude in favour of the Temporal Power. One of them from the year 1870 onwards, came out every day in mourning. Those ecclesiastics who dissented from the intransigent programme were inevitably exposed to the attacks of a Press protected when not inspired by the Vatican.

Italian Catholics were absolutely forbidden to participate in the public life of the country. The *mot d'ordre* was: "Neither elected nor electors." The *Non expedit* made its official appearance in the elections of 1874, and was repeated and confirmed by documents issued by the Roman Congregations at successive elections.

Pius IX was succeeded in 1878 by Leo XIII. The "peace-maker Pope," as he was termed by a French writer, offered the olive branch to Republican France, to Bismarck, to Russia, and to Switzerland (with which countries the relations of the Vatican had been strained from the time of the proclamation of the Infallibility), but in the case of Italy energetically maintained the protests of his predecessor. On the surface relations with the Italian Government may have been more courteous, but substantially they remained unchanged. An effort was also made to influence foreign Catholics and to bring pressure to bear on their Governments. Pius IX, in his allocution to the Cardinals of March, 1877, had already made an appeal to foreign Catholics to induce their Governments to intervene in favour of the Holy See. The Italian Government was so concerned about the effect that the

allocution might have on Italian public opinion that the newspapers were prevented from publishing it. The Vatican then prohibited foreign Catholic sovereigns from paying visits to the King of Italy in Rome.

When the Treaty of the Triple Alliance was concluded the Vatican became alarmed, fearing that it might be considered as a recognition of the new state of things. Senator Francesco Salata has recently made public (*Corriere della Sera,* February 28, 1929) two unpublished letters found by him in the Vienna Archives and having a most important bearing on this point. One is a letter of Leo XIII to the Emperor of Austria, Franz Josef, and the other is the reply of the Emperor to the Pope. The correspondence bears the date of the year 1883, twelve months after the conclusion of the Triple Alliance. In his letter Leo XIII expresses the fear that the Italian Government may feel it has consolidated its position in Europe as a result of participating in the Alliance; repeats his protests against the illegality of the occupation of Rome; defines the Italian Government as an emanation of revolutionary sects, and asks the Emperor to reassure him that by the Treaty Austria

and Germany did not intend to recognize, much less approve, the annexation of the Papal States to Italy. In his reply, the Emperor Franz Josef makes it clear to the Pope that he has reluctantly accepted the participation of Italy in the Triple Alliance and that he has been obliged to consent to it for reasons of international policy; but he gives him the formal assurance that the Treaty contains not a single word which might be interpreted as a recognition of the pretended rights of Italy over Rome. For the same reasons—that is, to give to the Pope an impression of his sympathy for the Papal cause—the Emperor never repaid the visit which King Humbert and Queen Margherita made him in 1883.

For the rest, not only at Vienna, but at Berlin, Paris, and Madrid the Chancelleries were pleased at the open dissension between the Vatican and the Quirinal, which was regarded as the Achilles heel of the political organism of the new Italy. Well known, for example, is the dilemma of Bismarck: "Either the Vatican gives way and becomes a chaplaincy of the House of Savoy, or it resists and then Italy will break away from the Catholic Church."

The dilemma posed by the Iron Chancellor

has turned out to be wrong; but if Italy has not broken away from the Church, she has suffered bitterly from its intransigence and from the veiled war which it waged against her abroad. When mention is made of the anti-clerical manifestations of thirty or forty years ago, it must not be forgotten that these were in part the result of the hostile attitude of the Vatican. This explains, too, certain retorts of the Italian Government: as, for example, the veto which in 1899 it placed on the participation of a representative of the Pope in the Hague Peace Conference convoked by the Czar of Russia.

Meantime efforts by private and enlightened citizens to end and heal the dissension have never been lacking. A Benedictine historian, Father Tosti, described in a small pamphlet in lively terms what was good and beautiful in the hoped-for agreement with the Quirinal. In 1888 an eminent Bishop, in an article published in the *Rassegna Nazionale,* courageously faced the *quæstio vexata* in the hope of forming a current favourable to an understanding between the two Powers. This article had a wide echo as soon as it became known that it was from the pen of Mons. Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona, who en-

joyed great authority in the country and was in touch with high personages in the political world. Reprinted, in pamphlet form, it was put on the *Index*.

Attempts on the part of the Government to find a *rapprochement* were not lacking, but with the advent to power of the Left in 1876, the spirit of the laity was hardly inclined towards it. The Radicals and a strong sectarian group disliked the idea of a conciliation which might have been interpreted as a journey to Canossa. It was stated that Depretis was favourably disposed to a reconciliation. After him Crispi in 1887, at the time of the Tosti pamphlet, had seriously set himself to study the prospect of peace with the Vatican; but without success. Nor was much progress made, beyond mere soundings, under or during the Rudini Cabinet.

But towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of the new, a change in the atmosphere began to appear. The tone of clerical polemics became calmer and the terms of the question were gradually modified. The formation of a Christian Democratic Party caused the *Non expedit* to fall into disuse. The formula "Neither electors nor elected" had come

AMERICAN CATHOLIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

to be replaced by that of "Preparation during the abstention."

Leo XIII authorized the Catholics to take part in the political elections in those constituencies where their intervention appeared to be indispensable to prevent the victory of the Radicals and Socialists. Thus some Catholics were elected as deputies, but no group of Catholic deputies was formed in Parliament. In this way a third formula was reached, "Cattolici deputati, non Deputati cattolici," which meant that a Catholic citizen might be elected as a deputy, but that he could not present himself in Parliament as the representative of a Catholic party. Nevertheless, to show how the times were changing, one of these Catholic deputies, the late Signor Cameroni, representing the constituency of Treviglio, once dared to cry out in Parliament, "Hurrah for Rome, the capital of Italy," without creating a scandal either in the Vatican or even among his electors.

Leo XIII died at a great age on July 20, 1903. The Conclave that followed had a dramatic surprise in store. It was generally anticipated that the new Pope would be Cardinal Rampolla, who

had acted as Secretary of State to Leo XIII and who had acquired the not unmerited reputation of being a great diplomatist. The first ballot showed that he had obtained twenty-four votes, while of the other Cardinals some had one and others two votes. Cardinal Sarto, the Patriarch of Venice, had five votes, but on hearing the result of the first ballot he remarked smilingly: "The Cardinals are amusing themselves at my expense!" Rampolla's election, in view of the number of votes he had obtained at the beginning, might be said to be assured. Then the unexpected happened. Cardinal Puzyna, Bishop of Cracow, had come to the Conclave as the bearer of an Austrian veto on Rampolla, who was hated at Vienna as well as at Berlin for his Francophile policy. The Bishop of Cracow, amid a profound silence, read a declaration "in the name and by the authority of Franz Josef, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary," which pronounced the "veto of exclusion" on the feared and detested Secretary of Leo XIII. A very deep impression was made on the Conclave and later on the outer world when the news became known. The Paris *Temps* on the day following the veto wrote: "The Holy Spirit

was proceeding towards the candidate of France. The Triple Alliance has stopped it on the way." The Conclave did not dare to ignore the veto, and the votes, which could not be cast for the political Cardinal, went to the religious Cardinal. Thus Cardinal Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, was elected and assumed the name of Pius X.

He was known for his religious fervour as well as for his good-natured and witty character. Before entering the Conclave, he had, in reply to someone who had expressed to him the hope that he would become Pope, jestingly remarked: "I do not think the Holy Spirit will make this mistake!"

During his patriarchate at Venice, he had maintained cordial relations with the representatives of the Government and on more than one occasion had met the King and Queen when they had come to visit the city. He had also authorized and encouraged the Catholic electors of his diocese to ally themselves with the conservative parties and to take part in the electoral battles against the Socialists. What the thoughts of Pius X were about the position of the Holy See could be inferred with certainty from the discussions which took place at the Catholic

Congress held in Milan in 1913. Mons. Rossi, afterwards Bishop of Udine, then brought forward for discussion the question of the internationalization of the Law of Guarantees. The restitution *ad integrum* of what had been the old Pontifical territory was no longer demanded; only international guarantees were asked for in connection with the sovereignty of the Pope which the Law of Guarantees had recognized.

For the rest, the Papacy of Pius X was distinguished more by its intransigence in religious matters (it is enough to recall the campaign against the modernists) than by any political activity whatsoever as regards Italy. The Pontiff died on August 20, 1914, soon after the outbreak of the Great War. A rumour was circulated in the countries of the Entente that the Emperor Franz Josef of Austria had asked him to bless the arms of the Danubian Monarchy, and that the dying Pope had replied: "No, I do not bless arms; I bless the peace!" The rumour was probably without foundation, but it is certain that such must have been the last thought of Pope Sarto: "Bless the peace!"

He left the scene at a moment when the mystic ship of Peter had need of a pilot who should

be at one and the same time a priest and a diplomat, and this combination was found in the person of Giacomo Della Chiesa, Cardinal and Archbishop of Bologna.

Benedict XV, elevated to the honour of the Tiara during the period of Italian neutrality, would have liked Italy not to enter the war. The whole of his programme was inspired by an ardent wish that peace should be restored. He saw in the tempest that had fallen upon Europe a very serious calamity for civilization, and did not, therefore, wish to see an extension of the conflagration. Apart from this preliminary consideration, there were others which it was only natural should preoccupy the Vatican as well as the Government of Victor Emmanuel III, if and when Italy should herself become a belligerent Power. Would the supreme head of Catholicism be able to keep in touch with the Episcopate and the faithful of the whole world? Would his correspondence be inviolable as in times of peace? Would he be able to transmit telegrams in cipher to the Nuncios of the countries fighting against Italy? Would the Ambassadors of the Central Empires accredited to the

Holy See be able to continue to reside at Rome?

In a word, the Great War was to be the acid test of the Law of Guarantees, which, according to the repeated declarations of various Italian Ministers, represented the assurance of the sovereignty and independence of the Pope. Several jurists proposed that Article XI of the Law should be suspended—that is, that the diplomatic immunity granted to the envoys of the belligerent Powers accredited to the Holy See should be suspended, lest they should avail themselves of this immunity in order to plot against Italy. But the Government of the time remained faithful to the Liberal tradition and let the Pope's Secretary of State know that, out of respect for the letter and spirit of the Law of Guarantees, they did not demand the removal of those diplomats. The latter, however, left Rome of their own free will for Lugano in Switzerland. The episode was, naturally, exploited by the Austrian and German Press, which denounced "the unjust pressure" that the Pope had suffered and prophesied that sooner or later the Pope himself would have to leave Rome.

At the same time a world campaign was opened in connection with the Roman Ques-

tion, and the Pope sent to Cardinal Gasparri a note declaring that "the Holy See had no intention whatsoever of embarrassing the Government, but, placing its trust in God, awaited the systematization of its position *not by foreign arms but through the sense of justice of the Italian people.*"

This was the first hint that it was recognized that the Roman Question had to be defined directly in Rome between the two interested parties, any possible foreign intervention being excluded. The impression made in Italy was, naturally, excellent. The Pope's refusal of the reiterated suggestion of the King of Spain and the Spanish episcopate that he should, for the duration of the war, leave the Vatican for the Escurial, was likewise received with the greatest satisfaction.

Nevertheless, the underhand moves of the Central Empires, where even the Masonic and Jewish newspapers made a display of concern for the future of the Holy See, did not cease. The Catholic Erzberger, German Ex-Minister of Finance, narrates in his *Memoirs* that he had proposed to the Nuncio at Munich the creation of an international committee of Catholics,

The Porta Pia, the Gate by which the Italians Entered Rome on September 10th, 1870.

which should convoke a world's congress to ask the belligerent nations, at the moment of concluding peace, that the freedom and independence of the Holy See should be regulated and guaranteed. The project of Erzberger, elaborated later, in agreement with the German Foreign Minister and accepted by the German Government and the Emperor of Austria, was composed of ten articles. In the first article, the signatory Powers pledged themselves to recognize the Temporal Power of the Pope over an extension of territory that included the Vatican hill and a strip of land which should afford communication with the Tiber and with the railway line to Viterbo; this was to bear the name of the Church State. The other articles established, among other things, the neutrality and independence of the State; the sovereignty of the Pontiff over the Church State; over the acquisition and loss of nationality of persons domiciled permanently in the Church State. The Italian Government were to pledge themselves to render navigable the Tiber within two years from the signing of the Treaty for all deep-sea vessels, to a depth of five metres, along the frontiers of the Church State down to the sea, and the vessels of the Pope

were to be able to navigate the river at all times in both directions, without being submitted in any way to Italian sovereignty. The Kingdom of Italy was, besides, to pay to the Holy See within six months from the ratification of the Treaty a sum of half a milliard lire, destined to cover the expenses of the Pope's Court and of the administration of the Church State.

This initiative of Erzberger had no result. The truth differs somewhat from what the Ex-Minister of Finance would have us believe in his *Memoirs*. In reality, the Italian Government and the Vatican did their utmost during the conflict to avoid any differences which might have led to serious complications. The Pope at once set himself to ensure that the Army should have religious assistance by nominating a Field-Bishop, and Italian Catholics, the majority of whom had been in favor of neutrality, gave in the war proofs of patriotism. One of their representatives, Signor Filippo Meda, entered—for the first time since 1870—the Cabinet as Minister of Finance.

This harmony was broken only when, following the publication of the secret treaties by the Bolshevists, it became known that article 15

of the Treaty of London, formulated by Sonnino, had laid down as a condition, accepted by the Allies, that the Pope should be excluded from the Peace Conference. Signor Salandra, who was Prime Minister at the time the Treaty was drawn up, has explained in his book on "Italian Neutrality" (*La Neutralità Italiana,* Mondadori, Milan) that the reason for the introduction of the article is to be sought in a statement which the German Ambassador at Rome, Von Flotow, made to him during the period of neutrality. Von Flotow had made him understand that Germany was compelled to take serious account of the Pope because of the powerful Centre Party which was bringing pressure to bear to secure that, in the inevitable readjustment of Europe when the war had ended, the Roman Question should be raised again. It was natural, then, according to what Signor Salandra writes, that Italy should provide beforehand against a similar possibility.

The exclusion of the Pope from the Peace Conference, if it was resented in the Vatican, did not, however, arrest the movement towards conciliation, the most notable symptom of which had been the declaration, already quoted, of Car-

dinal Gasparri. Indeed, when the war came to an end, Benedict XV raised definitely the *Non expedit* and the Catholics were thus able to form themselves into a political party by founding on January 18, 1919, the Italian Popular Party (Partito Popolare Italiano).

Simultaneously, the Pope, in the Encyclical *De pacis reconciliatione christiana,* withdrew the prohibition, which was still in force, on the visits of the heads of the Catholic States to Rome. Thus, while for the first time since 1870 the capital of Italy entertained the Kings of Spain and of the Belgians, various Catholic deputies became Ministers of the King of Italy, declaring openly that the Roman Question had nothing to do with the Italian Catholics, but concerned only the State and the Holy See.

Rumours of negotiations between the Government and the Vatican were insistent, especially in the early part of 1921. The necessity of finding a settlement of the long dispute appeared clearer than ever. The times were propitious. With the disappearance of the Austrian Empire had gone the Power on which the Vatican had in the past relied most for support of its claims. The new settlement of Europe was not such as

to encourage high hopes of a possible re-establishment of the Temporal Power. The Vatican had already abandoned the idea of obtaining international guarantees. The solution had, therefore, to be sought in a bilateral contract which would recognize a *de jure* sovereignty of the Pontiff.

On the other hand, the atmosphere in the Vatican itself had changed. There were no longer any traces of the old intransigence. The advances of the Government were no longer received with the sharp reply of old: "Non possumus." Nor did impediments of a theological character any longer carry weight. The Bull of St. Pius V, *Admonet Nos,* which prohibited in any manner whatever the alienation of the patrimony of St. Peter, no longer constituted a serious obstacle. In the country the old anti-clericalism had been growing less, as clerical intransigence had diminished. The Great War had resulted in a fraternization between men of all parties and creeds. Christian Democracy had made great progress and had created many strong social and economic organizations. The Popular Party had in a short space of time made itself powerful inside and outside Parlia-

ment. The action of the extreme elements leading to disorder during the first two or three years after the war was a warning to the conservative-minded to unite and strengthen themselves.

It was in these circumstances that on February 6, 1922, Pope Pius XI was elected to the Tiara and that seven months later Benito Mussolini was carried to the head of the Italian Government by the Fascist Revolution. For a variety of circumstances, which will be examined in the following chapters, these two men succeeded in bringing to maturity, from a soil which had already been well prepared, the eagerly-desired fruit.

CHAPTER II

THE POPE OF THE RECONCILIATION

Achille Ratti at school—Liberal and patriotic influences—Don Damiano Ratti, the Archbishop of Calabiana, the geologists Stoppani and Mercalli—In the Ambrosiana Library—The future Pope as a mountaineer—His famous ascent of the Dufour Peak (Monte Rosa)—His calm and reserve during the great clerical storm in Milan—Changing times as seen from the Vatican Library—Mgr. Ratti goes to Poland as Apostolic Nuncio—He is made Archbishop of Milan and given the Red Hat—Cardinal Ratti predicted for the Tiara—The benediction from the outside loggia of St. Peter's—The Encyclical *Ubi arcano* and his feelings towards Italy—Cardinal Mercier's prophecy.

THERE can be no doubt that the most important figure in the great reconciliation has been that of the Pontiff. The greatest difficulties lay with the Right, on the side of the Vatican, where everything assumes a spiritual value. As we have seen in the previous chapter, there had existed in the Vatican for many years a state of mind irreconcilable with the new Italy that had taken from the Holy See the patrimony of St. Peter.

According to some theologians the Pope could not renounce his rights over the Pontifical State. A doctrine on the Temporal Power, supported by the Jesuits and taught in the seminaries, had appeared after 1870. This canonical doctrine was the rock on which previous attempts at reconciliation had been wrecked. It was necessary to bring about a change of heart; that was the real problem. A new man was wanted as head of the Church—one who had grown up in the historical atmosphere which followed the Risorgimento; a man of broad views, endowed with an uncommon will, who, while animated by a deep religious faith, should at the same time be gifted with a practical and realistic sense, not excluding a certain experience of the diplomatic world. The man, the Pope of the Reconciliation, has proved to be Pius XI.

In 1870 he was thirteen years old, having been born at Desio, in the province of Milan, on May 31, 1857. The fall of the Temporal Power found him a student in the seminary of San Pietro Martire, which he had entered at the age of ten years, and where he continued his secondary school studies, followed by three years of theology at Milan. His personal gifts

were an iron constitution, an iron will, and an iron memory. His career as a student was most brilliant. He showed a particular liking in his studies for mathematics and natural science, but he succeeded in everything to which he applied himself. Once he had taken up theology, he followed religious studies regularly. He would always, however, turn to the positive sciences as an agreeable recreation.

A year before his first celebration of Mass as a priest, he was sent to Rome to the Lombard seminary to perfect himself in theology. It was his first sojourn in the Eternal City. His well-balanced temperament and his scientific habit of observation allowed him to weigh with calm judgment the historical reality of the capital. Certainly one interesting fact could not have escaped the young Lombard—that the prestige of the Church after 1870, and especially with the advent of Pope Leo XIII, had been considerably enhanced throughout the world.

A notable influence on the formation of his ideas must have come from his uncle, Don Damiano Ratti, the rector of Asso, with whom he used to pass the summer holidays, a priest with wealth of common sense, of wide outlook,

and of genuinely patriotic sentiment. Another person for whom young Ratti always showed veneration and filial affection was the Archbishop of Milan, Monsignor Calabiana, a gentle and dignified figure, of Piedmontese origin, linked heart and soul to the House of Savoy. Nor did he ever lose his admiration for the geologist Antonio Stoppani and the Abbot Mercalli, the well-known student of volcanic phenomena, from whom he had acquired his love for natural science and a passion for the mountains. His religious preparation may, therefore, be regarded as leaning towards the most rigid ecclesiastical programme. This did not, however, debar him from feeling in his heart sympathy for the exponents of the so-called Clerical-Liberalism, men who were for conciliation in the highest sense of the word.

On December 21, 1879, he celebrated his first Mass at Rome in San Carlo al Corso, the church of the Lombards. He remained in Rome in order to complete his studies, and took his degree in Canon Law, Philosophy, and Theology. In 1882 he returned to Milan. Those three years of life in Rome represented for a sane and robust young man, rich in spiritual qualities, a first-

class experience which was to bear fruit gradually through the years of meditation and study to which he was led by his character.

When Ratti was a theological student at Milan, he had as companions in his studies several Swiss from Canton Ticino. He seized the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the German language. As a boy he had not shown any great liking for games. Calabiana, who on various occasions had met him at Asso, had taken a liking to the young seminarist, who was studying at the house of his uncle, Don Damiano; he used smilingly to call him his "old young man."

Ratti did not indulge in the more thoughtless and playful pursuits generally favoured by young men of that age. His only vigorous recreation was mountaineering. One of his favourite pastimes during the years of youth passed at the high school and in studying theology was the studying of modern languages, which was to be of great service to him later in his career as Librarian. His splendid memory was a sure aid to him. Pius XI speaks French, German, English, and Spanish.

Having passed through all the scholastic

courses in the Milanese seminaries and completed his studies at Rome, the young priest returned to Milan. He was appointed professor at the theological seminary, to which he had been attached as a student, and began his studies in the scholastic year 1882–3 as teacher of sacred eloquence. He gave lectures on theology each week to the whole body of students. Those who studied under him say that he was in no sense an orator; they recall his vast culture, his artistic taste, and his unfailing courtesy in all things. His teaching used to turn to the classics of Christian tradition in a search for the abundant richness of primitive religious thought more than to the precepts of oratorical art. The scholar prevailed over the artist.

Seven years afterwards he passed to the Ambrosiana Library as Doctor, called there by the illustrious Abbot Ceriani, who was the Prefect. This was the second stage. During the summer, towards the end of July and at the beginning of August, 1888, he had laid aside his usual duties for a splendid Alpine excursion, climbing Mont Cenis, the Gran Paradiso, the Aiguilles Grises, and afterwards descending to Chamonix across the Col de la Forclaz. In November he took

over his post at the Ambrosiana. At the historical library, founded by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, he was in his element. Of a studious temperament enriched by a knowledge of languages, he was to find in the austere and calm atmosphere of the Library the most favourable conditions to study in the true manner of the scholar. Erudition was and remained the habit and personal gift of Dr. Ratti in the years to come.

One of the duties of the Doctors of the Ambrosiana is to arrange and explain the literary treasures it contains. Dr. Ratti succeeded in fulfilling this task most conscientiously. Studies of an historical character, of varied magnitude and on diverse subjects—hagiographies, biographies, or simply bibliographies, on politics, art, medieval literature, liturgy, archæology—such were the scientific produce of his labours. This catalogue may appear to be fragmentary, but a certain unity can be discerned in it; the basis of many of the publications is to be found in the Church of St. Ambrogio and in Milanese history. There is no work of great volume which would point to a creative art, but there are more than seventy memoirs, exact, analytical, and care-

fully elaborated, which were published in the *Lombardy Historical Archives,* the *Reports of the Lombard Institute of Science and Letters,* and in the *Historical Journal of Italian Literature.* The *Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis* deserves particular mention, as well as various studies connected with San Carlo Borromeo. Dr. Ratti paid particular attention to rearranging the rich picture-gallery annexed to the Library, which before his arrival was in a state of disorder, so much so that it was almost unknown. The Prefect, Ceriani, a man as learned as he was crusty, let him carry on as he wished, as he was as fond of Dr. Ratti as of a son. When, after the death of Ceriani, Ratti was appointed in his place, he had only to continue the work already begun, active, assiduous, ever vigilant, as if the Ambrosiana building was to be his professional habitation for the rest of his life.

Visitors and scholars who entered the great reading-room used to find him always there, to the left, seated at his big writing-desk behind a small mountain of books, calm and silent as a monk. When enquirers appealed to him for information, he would readily and courteously place himself at their disposal, speaking to each

his own language, and furnish the explanations desired; after which he would return to his place and disappear behind the pile of volumes. Year in and year out, this was how his days were passed.

At a certain period every summer the Prefect disappeared from the Library and from Milan. He had left for the mountains. His love for the mountains must have been born in him during the summer holidays that he used to pass with his uncle, the Rector of Asso. That beautiful little village lies on the slopes of the mountainous mass which divides the two arms of the Lake of Como. The mass culminates in the peak of San Primo, and, sloping gradually down, ends in the promontory of Bellagio, a spot of enchanting beauty. At Asso the young seminarist was within easy reach of the spurs of San Primo and the Corni di Canzo; and beyond the lake are to be found close at hand the pre-Alps dear to the Milanese, the Legnone, the Grigne and the Resegone, which, offering arduous as well as easy climbs, must have invited the young student to make his first attacks on the mountains.

The character of the young man, which made him indifferent to ordinary games and diversions, led him towards mountaineering. Later, when he was seated on the Papal throne, he wrote: "True it is that among all the exercises which are honestly recreative, no other—when recklessness is avoided—more than this can be said to be more useful in developing the health of the mind as well as that of the body. While by hard effort and by forcing oneself to climb to where the air is thinner and purer the physical powers are renewed and reinvigorated, it likewise results that by facing difficulties of every kind greater strength is gained for the most arduous duties of life, and that, in contemplating the immensity and beauty of the panoramas which from the sublime peaks of the Alps are spread beneath our eyes, the soul easily lifts itself to God, the author and lord of Nature."

Thus he wrote on August 20, 1923, in the Apostolic letter which declared San Bernard da Mentone to be the Patron Saint of mountaineers. Such words were the fruit of personal experience.

After the excursion of 1888 already men-

tioned we find a mountaineering performance of the highest class which ought to be recorded as an historic event in his life. It took place in 1889. This was the superb ascent of Monte Rosa from Macugnaga, including the first crossing of the Zumstein peak. The expedition merits a description in some detail based upon the memoir published by Ratti himself in the review of the Italian Alpine Club.[1]

His companion on the trip was a very dear friend and colleague, Professor Don Luigi Grasselli. On July 28 they were at Macugnaga with the guides Gadin and Proment. An hour after midday they left for the Marinelli hut. The following morning, an hour after midnight, they were out again in order to attempt to scale the Dufour peak by making a traverse crossing of the Marinelli ravine in which the most formidable *mauvais pas* are to be encountered. In fact the difficulties met with were of such a nature and so many that the party lost hope more than once of reaching the summit. When, after many desperate efforts, they finally found themselves at the top, it was 7:30 in the evening.

[1] The memoir, translated into English under the title of *Climbs on Alpine Peaks,* is published in Benn's Essex Library.

Here the story may be continued in Ratti's own words:

Whipped by the wind, which up there was unbearable, and with the night upon us, we quickly descended, until 30 metres lower down we found a projecting rock almost entirely free from snow, and on this we settled ourselves as best we could. It was 8.30 and the aneroid registered 4,600 metres above sea-level.

The spot where we were was truly not one of the most comfortable, and, for anyone who had passed a day such as we had, it certainly was not to be compared with the beds and conveniences of the Riffel. To compensate for this, it was very safe for anyone who was sufficiently sure of himself, although extremely cramped. A step in any direction whatsoever was impossible; anyone sitting down had his legs dangling in space; but there was, however, every opportunity of beating the feet together, provided care was taken not to overbalance. And that elementary form of gymnastics was very necessary in the circumstances. The cold was intense; without being able to say exactly what the temperature was, I remember that our coffee was completely frozen and that the wine and eggs were as near as possible in the same state so as to be respectively neither drinkable nor eatable. We again fell back on the chocolate and on some excellent Kirsch, a fair quantity of which still remained. In such a spot and with such a tempera-

ture, it would have been highly imprudent to allow ourselves to be overcome by sleep. But who could have slept in that marvellously pure air which cut us to the marrow, and with the spectacle which lay before our eyes? At that height . . . in the centre of that very grandiose among the most grandiose Alpine theatres . . . in that pure and clear atmosphere, beneath that sky of deepest sapphire, illuminated by a crescent moon, and, as far as the eye could reach, all dotted with twinkling stars . . . in that silence . . . but enough! I will not attempt to describe the indescribable.

Next morning they reascended to the East Point, whence they passed to the Dufour, returned to the bivouac of the previous night to pick up their knapsacks, and then, after a short diversion, still on the Italian side, made for the Zumstein in the direction of the summit; having crossed this, which up to then the foot of man had never trodden, they descended by way of Grenzgletscher towards Riffel. But the great amount of time spent in exploration compelled them to pass a second night on the moraine. And this was not all. Having descended to Zermatt, Ratti climbed the Matterhorn four days later by the shortest way from Lake Nero, without halting at a refuge. After reaching the

summit, he passed a third night in the open air a little below the Spalla.

Let it be said quite plainly that the present Pontiff is a born Alpinist. That particular year marks the highest achievement in the whole of his record. The year following, 1890, again in the days between July and August, the Alpinist Ratti is found with Grasselli on Mont Blanc; the ascent having been made by way of the Tocher, and the descent along the glacier, following a route for the most part new. In 1882 fifteen days, from August 1 to 16, were entirely dedicated to excursions on Mt. Viso. In 1894 we again see him on Monte Rosa in a climb to the Ghifetti Point. Then his Alpine activities gradually grow less and close with an ascent of Vesuvius, by which he wished, exactly at midnight, to greet the opening of the year 1899.

So great a lover of the mountains could hardly be a man of limited outlook. As a rule, he started on his excursions well prepared; a knowledge of the itinerary was supplemented by good orographic maps, an aneroid, and competent guides. His instinctive caution helped him to provide against difficulties, as far as pos-

sible; in the event of anything unexpected happening, he counted on the resistance of his physical powers, on the firm character of his will, and also, let it be said, on his good fortune.

Before accompanying the Prefect of the Ambrosiana to Rome and the Vatican, it will be well to say something more about the time he passed in Milan—on the Lombard soil where he was born and which was moulding his spirit as he pursued old and new occupations in that heated atmosphere of political and religious contrasts which are characteristic of the Lombard people and especially of the Milanese clergy.

Don Achille Ratti, a man of educated and gentlemanly ways, to whom a deep and varied culture gave added dignity, always remained faithful both to the religious programme of the priest and to an austere conduct in social life. In addition to his being on friendly terms with the best families of the Milanese aristocracy, his position as Prefect of the Ambrosiana Library made it necessary for him to come into frequent contact with all grades of authorities and scholars; yet he never failed to respect that sense of moderation which was innate in him; and he

was always successful in winning the respect of the citizens as a whole. The clergy held him in the highest esteem.

Strong currents of opposing thought were sweeping the country in those days. On one side were the Liberals and the Clerical-Liberals, heirs to the fighting spirit of 1848, respectable and respected priests, devoted to the Church and at the same time sincere patriots, as had been his uncle, the Rector Don Damiano Ratti. On the other side were the intransigent spirits, daring, combative, inquisitorial, who were supporters of the most extreme ideas in religion, philosophy, and politics, determined advocates of the Temporal Power, partisans of the *Non expedit*, who by means of the newspapers exercised a real tyranny over the ideas of their opponents.

The observer of to-day, especially if he lives outside Italy, can have but a faint idea of the discussions which flared up around the question of the Temporal Power. While, so far as history is concerned, the taking of Rome in 1870 marks only the end of a reign, so far as ecclesiastical history is concerned it was thrown up against a religious background. Temporal Power was

nothing more nor less than the Patrimony of St. Peter; the capital of the civil princedom of the Pope was likewise the capital of the Catholic world; the rights of the Pontiff over the Pontifical State were divine rights and as such inscrutable. The more impassioned of the clergy had at the outset expected some sign of divine wrath, something in the nature of an apocalypse, and prophecies in this sense were not lacking. It is said, however, that after some years Pius IX, in whom a sense of humor was not wanting, remarked one day: "These prophets have not exactly distinguished themselves."

Notwithstanding the absence of any miraculous intervention of Providence, the temporalists did not disarm. A fanatical spirit was always present among them; it was kept alive by an active Press distinguished by its combativeness. In Milan an intransigent newspaper was published, under the editorship of Don Davide Albertario, a priest of great talents and unusual ability, which carried on a fierce campaign against the priests favourable to reconciliation and especially against the men of the Liberal Party, so that in his journalistic battles he often found himself ranged alongside the Radicals and

Republicans. In May, 1898, following some riots, martial law was proclaimed at Milan and Don Albertario was arrested and condemned by the Military Court to several years' imprisonment.

This was a dramatic episode, but there were others of a humorous nature. September 20 was always marked by disorders and strife. Official Italy, naturally, celebrated the day as one which had marked the attainment of national unity with the entry of Italian troops into Rome. All parties, with the exception of the Clericals, took part in these celebrations with great enthusiasm; there was a ceremony at Porta Pia in Rome, military reviews, banquets, and festivities of all kinds. But in the country communes there were scuffles and affrays which centred around the local band. Every country commune in Italy, even the smallest, always had its band. Now after September 20 this band found itself in a very embarrassing situation, because the priests, who availed themselves of its services for religious functions and funerals, were all against the band playing on that "unholy day," while the Mayor and most of the peasants demanded its services. The situation became so perplexing

By courtesy of the *Illustrazione Italiana.*

A "Conciliationist" Cartoon of 1875, "Omne trinum est perfectum." Pope Pius IX, King Victor Emmanuel II and Garibaldi.

that eventually two bands were formed in nearly all the communes, one that played on the "unholy day" and another which was at the exclusive disposal of the Church.

Don Achille did not take part in any of these struggles. One can well believe that his sympathies were with the liberal clergy, in whose ranks were to be found many eminent priests whom he esteemed highly, such as the geologist Stoppani, the Abbot Mercalli, and several of the Rectors of the metropolis; but it must also be added that his rule of life was obedience to the ecclesiastical powers. Anything coming from Vatican Rome had to be obeyed; party excesses and polemics were absolutely foreign to his temperament. It could be inferred, therefore, that, when no other higher authority should be over him, and he could follow the dictates of his conscience, he would show himself, at least in politics, nearer to the liberal current which for years and years had been calling for conciliation.

In the furious controversy which centred around Modernism during the pontificate of Pius X, Don Achille Ratti did not take, and could not have taken, any active part. The present Pontiff did not deviate from the most

rigid orthodoxy in matters of religious doctrine. The fact that he was entirely absorbed in learning kept him away from philosophical and theological disquisitions. In theology and philosophy he kept always to the guiding rules which he had received first in the Milanese seminary and afterwards at the Gregoriana at Rome—the lines marked out by Leo XIII with the restoration of the doctrine of St. Thomas Aquinas. In this religious field no innovation could take hold of the spirit of the future Pope. One may add, indeed, that, being neither a theologian nor a philosopher in the specific sense of the words, and respectful as he always was to the hierarchical authorities, he considered that a Catholic, and especially a priest, could not depart from the official teaching of the Church. At the most he might have been attracted by Biblical criticism, which for the most part is an attribute of the historian. As a student of historical questions, the Doctor of the Ambrosiana might have felt himself drawn into the great current which was revising the old traditions and documents, and altering the terms of scriptural culture. This, however, was not so. He displayed the quiet faith of the believer, the docility of the priestly

spirit. The bitter conflict which raged around Modernism was not sufficient to disturb the austere peace of the Ambrosiana Library. One might almost say that the Prefect, of his own accord, kept himself away from Biblical enquiries and from all other religious innovations.

He would climb the Sacred Mount step by step, overcoming the difficulties of the road without looking down at the shadows of the valleys. Certainly he did not agree with the innovators; in his heart he was even against them. But it was not in his nature to take up an hostile attitude against the modernists; he was too accomplished, too moderate, to assail scholars and thinkers. Intransigence may easily conceal fanaticism. No form of fanaticism could find room in a noble spirit like that of the priest Ratti.

In the summer of 1914 he was called upon to take charge of the Vatican Library, a position which he held till May, 1918. The Prefect, P. Francesco Ehrle, had had to retire; he was a Bavarian, and during the European War only an Italian could remain in a post of such importance, which brought its holder into contact

with scholars from all over the world. His excellent work at the Ambrosiana Library indicated that Monsignor Ratti, an Italian by birth and by sentiment, prudent by nature, was the right man for the position. He had faith in the cause of justice, and never doubted that it would prevail against the force of arms.

Rome during the years of war was not the city that he had known many years before when he was a student there. Benedict XV sat on the Papal throne. The psychology of the capital was profoundly changed. There was no longer a humanist Pontiff such as Leo XIII, who had always cherished ideas of the restoration of the Temporal Power. Relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal, too, had little by little become calm. The Law of Guarantees worked well, in spite of all the bad things that had been said about it. Under the new Italy three Conclaves had already been held, those of Popes Leo and Pius X and that which had seen the elevation of Pope Benedict to the Tiara. There had been no disturbance of Curial and Church affairs. The Vatican did all in its power to keep itself aloof from the war. Italy, by applying loyally the Law of Guarantees, showed

to all the world her willingness to respect religion, the Holy See, and the Roman Curia. It was not only a statutory obligation, but it was in her political interest to do so.

From the Library, as from an observatory, Monsignor Ratti saw all, weighed all, *conferens in corde suo*. The passions of the intransigent party had cooled. The "Temporalists" had disappeared. The inquisitorial journalism was careful not to hurt the Liberals and the Clerical-Liberals. Who in those days could have had the melancholy idea of bringing up again the question of the restoration of Temporal Power? The citizens of the "Bel Paese" had many other cares and problems on their shoulders, while millions of the country's sons were fighting for freedom and victory. From his observatory the Prefect of the Vatican Library watched and studied. The important office that he held kept him busily occupied in continuing the work of rearranging and cataloguing the manuscripts, and his labours extended to the printed books. The work of Ratti at the Vatican was, as a whole, one of reorganization. It was a work carried out by a very erudite and expert scholar. Although this period of his life does not present

any episode worthy of note and seems to become one with the dull uniformity of the parchments lying stacked on the book-shelves, it nevertheless marks a very important stage. It represents a first-class experience.

After the war had ended with the success of the Allies, victorious Italy could look to her future. Where were those who might now be thinking of 1870 and the Roman Question? Half a century had elapsed since the 'seventies. The Roman Question certainly might be revived, but no longer as a political problem. It might be discussed as a moral question and also from a political point of view in the sense that, the Papacy being of a world character and its power having increased spiritually since 1870, it might be highly convenient to Italy to reconcile herself at the right moment with the Holy See. This was the stage at which the Roman Question stood. The important thing was to see it in its proper light. Monsignor Achille Ratti probably saw it in its proper light. But he was only a Monsignor, an honorary title borne by many. The fact that he was the Prefect of the Vatican Library did not place him any higher in the hierarchy of the Church. If the Papacy

was the Dufour Peak, Monsignor Ratti had not even reached the Macugnaga.

At this point the unexpected happened.

On June 25, 1918, Ratti was appointed Apostolic Nuncio to Poland.

Russian Poland had been occupied by the Austro-German armies in 1915. On November 5, 1916, the two Emperors proclaimed its independence, without at the same time giving immediate application to the new order of things. In the meantime two military occupations had been made, one by the Germans with a Governor at Warsaw, and the other by the Austrians with a Governor at Lublin. But the popularity of the Central Empires, limited from the very beginning, diminished more and more for two reasons—for the difficulties inherent in the occupation, and because the Entente and Wilson had proclaimed Poland one and independent. In addition the treaty of Brest-Litvosk, which deprived Poland of the province of Chelm, which was annexed to the Ukraine, had deeply irritated the Poles and considerably weakened the position of the partisans of the Central Empires, the so-called "Activists," to the entire

advantage of the "Passivists," who were supporters of the Entente.

The fall of the Russian régime opened up new possibilities for the eventual influence of Rome in those regions. The Polish Bishops, who could at last act freely, begged Benedict XV to send to Poland his representative that he might take stock of the position in which they found themselves, and to interest himself in the reordering of religious life, keeping on the *qui vive* in case the Russian Empire should collapse.

The choice of the Pontiff fell on the Prefect of the Vatican Library. Why was this selection made? What were Monsignor Ratti's qualifications for diplomacy? In view of the delicate and complicated character of the mission, which was to be carried out in countries full of unrest, how was it that some strong professional diplomat had not been picked upon? How could a man who had passed all his life among books venture upon such a different path and engage in activities so dissimilar from the habits of a scholar? Palæography is not exactly diplomacy.

The designation of Ratti seemed so strange that some people had a suspicion that it was a move which aimed at removing from Rome a

person who was perhaps standing in someone's light.

He left Rome on May 19, halted at Milan a couple of days, visited his mother whom he was never again to see alive, and then set out for Munich, Vienna, and Berlin. Here he carried out the secret mission of meeting the Chancellor of the Empire in order to sound him in connection with some peace initiatives which had been referred to Rome from Switzerland. The arrival of the Apostolic Visitor (this was his first title) was greeted at Warsaw with great manifestations of joy. Visits and pilgrimages were immediately begun with the object of ascertaining *de visu* the condition of the religious communities, the churches, and the hierarchy, and these were to be followed by the work of reorganization. This activity represented the real functions of the Apostolic Visitor, whose mission was exclusively religious.

In November came the collapse of the Central Empires, and the Germans were driven out of Russian Poland. At the end of January, 1919, with the election of the Constituent Assembly, the new organization of the State began—an arduous task in view of the deep misery of the

population, and the unpreparedness of the new men.

Monsignor Ratti had followed, and continued to follow with the greatest attention, the development of events, and he accompanied every step of Poland's resurrection, watching, praying, and counselling, persuaded as he was that the country would overcome its grave crisis. On July 19 Poland having been recognized *de jure* in the name of the Holy Father, the Government asked the Holy See to institute a Nunciature with Monsignor Ratti as first Nuncio. He was elevated at the same time to the dignity of Bishop, and the service of consecration took place in the Cathedral on October 28 in the presence of twenty-two Bishops, Pilsudski, the members of the Government, and the Diplomatic Corps. Monsignor Ratti was now fully launched on the diplomatic path and had risen in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

His duties were pressing and multifarious—the creation of Bishops, the institution of bishoprics, episcopal conferences, keeping in touch with the authorities, and tracing and relieving Italian prisoners and refugees scattered over the great territory of Russia.

There were many difficult days in 1920 when the Bolshevist invasion took place. Early in July, with the collapse of the northern front and the fall of Minsk, Vilna, and Grodno, Warsaw the capital was threatened. The enemy had reached a point some ten miles from the city. The Diplomatic Corps left their legations and withdrew towards Posen. The Nuncio preferred to remain at his post. On the evening of August 15 the Poles launched a furious offensive which ended by putting the enemy to flight. The conduct of Ratti during these trying days was highly appreciated.

He was not, however, to meet with equal fortune in the question upper Silesia, whose fate, under the Treaty of Versailles, had to be decided by a plebiscite. Although the Silesians were fervent Catholics, they were agitated and divided under pressure from Poland and Germany. The local clergy were drawn into the struggle unreservedly. The fact that the Bishop of Breslau, Cardinal Bertram, was a German increased the suspicion and distrust of the Poles, for it was considered that he would oppose the Polish solution. In those conditions, among populations still in the convalescent stage after the war, a

plebiscite could result only in revolutionary convulsions.

At this time the Nuncio suffered a setback. This occurred when Cardinal Bertram published a decree, in which, under penalty of suspension *a divinis,* priests were forbidden to take part in political propaganda without the consent of the parish priests, and non-diocesan priests were forbidden to take part in the plebiscitary struggle. The Poles were intensely irritated, and in apportioning blame for what was happening they included Monsignor Ratti in his capacity of Pontifical Commissioner. It is unquestionably true that in politics success counts for more than intentions.

After three years inspired by noble purposes, without any shirking of either toil or difficulties, animated only by the intention of serving the cause of the Church in obedience to the Pontiff, Ratti on June 4, 1921, left Warsaw and returned to Italy. He had been appointed to the Archbishopric of Milan after the death of Cardinal Ferrari. He thus began to tread the path which was to bring him to Rome. Everything leads one to suppose that Monsignor Ratti, Mil-

anese to the core, a lover of the mountains, returned willingly to his native soil and his own people, to Milan, which for him was the promised land and to which he was bound by memories, friendships, habits, and a longing for the Alps.

In appointing him to the Archbishopric of Milan, the Pope had also recognized his claims to elevation to the purple, wishing in this way to reward him for his work and sufferings in Poland and at the same time to preserve the tradition that Milan should have a Cardinal to look after its spiritual welfare. The Red Hat was given to him on June 15. On July 25 he retired to the Abbey of Montecassino and stayed there for a whole month, as if he wished to prepare himself in that monastic retreat for the pastoral life that would now absorb his energies. At the end of this period of retirement he decided to make a pilgrimage to Lourdes, and finally went to Milan, making his ceremonial entry on September 5. He was well received by the citizens, who greeted in him not only the shepherd but also the illustrious fellow-citizen, generally esteemed and in certain aspects also popular.

He remained at Milan only five months, a period of time insufficient to give a special character to his rule. The development of his plan of action would follow, but it was necessary that he should study the ground, ascertain what was needed, and little by little take up the threads of the diocesan jurisdiction which the long illness of his predecessor, Cardinal Ferrari, had caused to be somewhat neglected.

While Cardinal Ratti was preparing to take a real grip of the reins of the great Milanese archdiocese, Pope Benedict XV died unexpectedly.

The death of a Pontiff is an event of the highest importance by reason of the vast repercussions it has throughout the Catholic and diplomatic world. In Italy, especially, a remarkable interest is created among all classes, in the clubs, in the Press, and among all branches of the Government. Everywhere, more or less, there is a feeling that unforeseen innovations are being prepared. The designation of a probable successor allows full play for the wildest fancies among the people.

In the afternoon of February 2 the Cardinals entered the Conclave. Four days later Cardinal

Achille Ratti was elected. Although the electoral machinery and the ballots are secret, it has not been difficult to reconstruct the course of the Conclave.

The election of Cardinal Ratti was foreseen. Here was a man of eminent personality, of culture, learning, *savoir faire,* and diplomatic experience. Some electors felt a little doubtful as to his religious sentiments and his priestly spirit, but were reassured. There were those who could furnish complete testimony of the private life and habits of piety of the Milanese Cardinal. He enjoyed the personal esteem of various colleagues. His conciliatory attitude marked him out as the candidate who would succeed in tactfully solving the difficulties with which the Church was confronted to some extent everywhere, and especially in the newly formed States.

On February 6 at 11 A.M., after the 14th ballot, the Alpinist of the Dufour Peak found himself raised to the highest pinnacle of the Catholic Church. After the act of acceptance, having announced that he would chose the name of Pius, he pronounced these words: "I declare before the members of the Sacred College that I

have at heart the safeguarding and the defence of all the rights of the Church and all the prerogatives of the Holy See; but having said that I wish that my first blessing may go, as a token of the peace to which humanity aspires, not only to Rome and to Italy, but to all the Church and to the entire world. I will give it from the external loggia of St. Peter's."

This might seem a simple thing. But since Leo XIII, Pius X and Benedict XV had not made their appearance on the outside loggia, but had imparted their benediction towards the interior of St. Peter's, public opinion gave an immense significance to this simple gesture. The act of Pius XI was greeted with an enthusiasm the warmth of which stirred even the sceptics. All felt that that benediction would represent the dawn of the reconciliation. And so it proved.

Had the new Pope in mind even at that time the idea of settling the Roman Question? Certainly he must have had an idea of his own. Intransigent he had never been; he had not been born for the excesses of fanaticism. There had unfailingly been present in his conscience a sense of equilibrium and moderation in all things. He

was born for the heights. He would climb, the master of his spirit and of his nerves. In the pastoral life he had, after first listening to his conscience, always taken into account the reality of things. When he took in his hand the rudder of the ship of St. Peter, it is certain that Pius XI looked well at his compass. He knew the direction; he knew how he had to act.

Towards the end of the first year of his pontificate, there was issued the first Encyclical, *Ubi arcano,* in which, after repeating the protest against the abnormal condition of things resulting from the loss of the civil Princedom, he added new words, never before heard, which seemed to furnish a commentary on his benediction. "For the rest, Italy has not, nor will have, anything to fear from the Holy See. The Pope, whoever he may be, will always repeat: *Ego cogito cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis.* . . . It is for God to bring about this hour and make it strike; it will be for men of wisdom and goodwill not to let it strike in vain. It will be among the most solemn and fruitful of hours both for the restoration of the Kingdom of Christ and for the pacification of Italy and the world."

From the day of his elevation to the Tiara to

that of the signature of the Lateran Treaty, there were now and again divergencies of opinion between Pius XI and the Italian Government, sometimes on questions of fact, as in the matter of religious teaching, and sometimes on theoretical questions, such as the Fascist conception of the omnipotence of the State, which, naturally, the head of the Catholic religion could not accept. But not withstanding these divergencies, the Pope has always given the impression that he appreciated the concessions which Mussolini had made to the Church and that he judged that the situation was favourable to a possible agreement. Above all, the nature of his mind led to the belief that this was the case. The day after his election, Cardinal Mercier, who had come to Rome for the Conclave, expressed the opinion that the relations between Italy and the Holy See would be modified with the advent of Pius XI; and, answering the objection that the thing was not at all easy, he reaffirmed his view and explained his impression with these words: *Il a des idées larges!* The Primate of Belgium was not mistaken.

CHAPTER III

THE MINISTER OF THE RECONCILIATION

The new atmosphere in Italy—Religiousness, Spiritualism, and the philosophy of Giovanni Gentile—The alliance of the State with the Church according to Gentile—The Italian of the Renaissance, of the Risorgimento, and of to-day—The Nationalists—Balbino Giuliano and the "divine nature" of the nation—Alfredo Rocco and St. Thomas—The nation-state myth—Mussolini—His attitude towards religion and the Church before and after his conversion—Mussolini and the election of Cardinal Ratti to the Papal throne—His speeches in the Chamber—The fascination of Rome—His thoughts on the Treaty and the Concordat.

REVOLUTIONS are generally the epilogue of a long and slow movement of ideas. They are the ultimate fact, by means of which certain principles, which have matured in the conscience of a people, become reality. This apparently cannot be said of the Fascist revolution. The march on Rome was not the epilogue of any large movement of philosophical ideas. More than anything else it was a *coup de main*. But Fascism, once it had attained power, thought it advisable to provide

itself with an ideal, and found this, in the philosophical field, in the teachings of Giovanni Gentile, and in the political field in Nationalism.

To understand the present attitude of Fascism in face of religion and the Catholic Church and to form a proper idea of the atmosphere in which the reconciliation between the Italian State and the Holy See has been reached, it is necessary to consider briefly the philosophy of Gentile and the political conceptions of Nationalism.

Giovanni Gentile, who was born in 1875 in Sicily and was, like many Italian scholars of the South, drawn to pure philosophic speculation, is less popular throughout the world than Benedetto Croce, of whose review *Critica* he was for several years the most esteemed collaborator. To-day Gentile, a professor at the Rome University, the first Minister of Education in the first Cabinet of Mussolini, and author of the school reforms, is very well known in Italy, and his influence on the rising generation is wide and deep.

Gentile represents the reaction against positivism, materialism, and empiricism—that is, aganist the philosophical tendencies which had

dominated Italy up to the beginning of the present century. His philosophy is, in part, a return to Hegel, with original developments of his own. He is an idealist and a spiritualist. Man, according to Gentile, is not solely guided by instinct; his ideas may be obscure and confused, but he always thinks. His thought, placing him face to face with death and mystery and causing him to feel his impotence and nothingness, ends by giving him a sense of the divine.

When man feels that above him is all which in himself is nothing, he bends his knee, prostrates himself, and worships the Infinite on which he depends and from which he cannot separate himself. He lives religiously. To think is to present oneself to God. And the more he thinks, the more he will feel the presence of God, who is all, in face of man who is nothing.

To live religiously, then, is for Gentile a truth and a necessity. Religion, for him, signifies abnegation, sacrifice, devotion to the ideal. "If we wish to think seriously, if we wish to carry our ideas into life and to fight so that they may triumph, if we wish not only to speak but to act, if we care about improving our lives, our thought cannot be other than religious and our

action cannot be other than permeated by this religious spirit."

This conception of the religiousness of the individual is for Gentile bound up with the conception of the religiousness of the State.

The State is not *inter homines*, but *in interiore homine*. It is not what we see above us, but what we accomplish within ourselves by our work of every day and of every instant; not only by entering into relations with others, but also by simply thinking, and by creating with thought a reality, a spiritual movement, which sooner or later will have an influence on the outside and modify it.

The State must be governed by a genuinely and deeply religious spirit.

Its religiousness is its seriousness, its spiritual solidity, its consistence: that virtue, in a word, by which we seriously say and do the things in which we believe. . . . The State must look to the Church as to its proper ally; but for what she has in particular, as one Church among the others; but for that on which all the Churches agree and in which they proceed together in the pursuance of a common ideal. Here, in fact, lies the strength of the Church, which the State must recognize. The Church, on the other hand, must abandon the old pretensions as to prerogatives and privileges, which are not proper to the

character of the mission which she pursues; and she must feel that this mission will be favoured and made much easier by a State which, without combating in any way any particular religious form, recognizes and affirms the value of religion as this exists among all the forms; in the same way as a man of taste renders the highest possible homage to poetry by not restricting himself to a jealous and exclusive contemplation of one single poet.

Such is the conception that Gentile has of the religiousness of the State from the political point of view. From the historical point of view, the ideas of Gentile, as expressed in various writings and speeches, as to the religiousness of the Italian people through the ages, and its relations with the Catholic Church, may be thus summarized. The true history of Italy, according to Gentile, does not start from Rome. Rome, like Greece, lies in the background of the picture of all modern civilized nations. The Italy of to-day, with its defects and merits, had its cradle in the medieval republics which prepared the Renaissance. It was during the Renaissance that the Italian character was formed, and the typical note of this character has been æstheticism. Now in the world of art thought is

like a dream in that it ignores reality: the individual detaches himself from the existing world in order to create a world of his own, and the spirit severs itself from every serious and religious conception and moves in an abstract sphere. The civilization of the Renaissance was grand but abstract: there were great men, but because these men lived in an abstract and subjective sphere, indifferent to the religious, moral, and civil problems, there were weak and poor States. Decadence then thus set in, and this lasted until, in the first half of last century, the religious spirit revived. The Risorgimento was due to a great religious and creative effort of a noble minority full of faith. But the effort was so powerful and fatiguing that it ended by exhausting the creative power. The spirit seemed to be going astray. The old Italian of the Renaissance seemed to rise again—the man of culture, but of an abstract culture. The hostile relations of the new State with the Church gave to culture a secular character: art, science, philosophy without religion. Religion became a synonym for obscurantism. In books, in the schools, in the heart, there was a desert.

Gentile recognizes that Liberals and Demo-

crats have exercised a very important function after 1870. Italy had been willed and made by a minority: it was necessary to give to the people a national conscience and to bring within the unitarian State the masses that had remained aloof and passive at the times of its formation: it was necessary to assist the economic development of the bourgeoisie and provide for the education of the poorer classes that were almost entirely illiterate. Liberalism and Democracy have accomplished all this, but Gentile deplores the fact that it has been accomplished without religion, and often against religion, since religion was confused with the Church against which the State was always engaged in a more or less veiled war.

But recently a new fact—the war—has emerged and brought about a spiritual revolution. "The war," says Gentile, "was fought by the Italians in the very spirit of the Risorgimento; with this difference, however, that in the wars of 1848, 1849, 1859, and 1860 the faith of the few was enough. Instead, the war on which Italy entered in 1915 required the sacrifice and the faith of all. It was the first great national war; the first that had placed the

people of Italy face to face with death for the life of the Fatherland. The spiritual shock that it produced was, therefore, vast and universal, and for this reason the attitude of the Italian soul towards religion to-day has changed." Many thousands of young men, animated by an ideal emotion, have serenely laid down their lives, and the Italian people feel that that emotion must not die out if all those deaths and the final victory are not to be fruitless. Hence the attitude of Fascism, which wishes to revive in the Italian people that religiousness which had either disappeared or showed itself only in exterior forms.

If the ideas of Giovanni Gentile have had a notable influence in the field of culture and education, those of the Nationalists have been no less influential in the political field.

At the beginning of the century the Nationalists formed only a very small group: their journals were represented by only two or three weekly publications: as yet they did not represent a real party. Italian Nationalism was in the first instance proclaimed by a few young writers, followers of Gabriele d'Annunzio, and theirs, like that of the poet, was a pagan and

literary Nationalism. Afterwards these young men felt the influence of French Nationalism, especially that typified by Maurras, and declared themselves Catholics, Monarchists, and Imperialists. In the elections of 1913 several Nationalists offered themselves as candidates, soliciting the support of the Church and of the Catholics, and it was precisely owing to this support that Luigi Federzoni, who afterwards became a Minister under Mussolini, was elected, for the first time, a member for a constituency of Rome.

The Fiume episode likewise gave a great impetus to the Nationalist movement. A party was formed composed for the most part of young men: a big daily newspaper was launched in Rome, *L'Idea Nazionale;* various candidates were presented at the election and several seats were won. Immediately after the march on Rome the Nationalists merged themselves into the ranks of the Fascists, and to-day not one of them remains outside Fascism, to which they have given their ideas.

For the Nationalists, the nation possesses divine attributes. Balbino Giuliano, Under-Secretary of State, and one of the exponents of Nationalism, wrote: "The nation is divine be-

cause it is the concrete expression of the evolution of the spirit. Consequently it comprehends within itself both the genus and the species, inasmuch as it is a synthesis of what is universal and what is individual, and contains the elements of right and of duty, of the claims of individuality as well as its limits." The Minister of Justice, Alfredo Rocco, another champion of Italian Nationalism, declared in a speech at Perugia that the idea of centralization *à outrance* is the most absolute antithesis of rationalist Jacobinism and that it finds its justification in the doctrine of St. Thomas. He has several times declared that the theories of National Fascism are the negation of all the doctrines relating to natural right of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. "Humanity," he says, "exists as a biological fact, not as a social idea, and even the existence of individual business societies is as much a biological fact as a social conception. . . . Fascism regards society as the end and the individual as the means. That is to say, the life of society consists in bending individuals to be the instruments of social ends." Therefore for Rocco and the National Fascists, human society is not a social reality; the only realities are the

particular human societies identified with the nations. The individual is annulled, or at least is subject to the exigencies, the necessities, and the interests of the only social reality recognized and admitted; namely, the nation. All possible powers are concentrated in the national society —and in the State which is its juridical expression—in order the better to lead the individual to bring about within and outside himself the aim of the particular society of which he forms part. For National Fascism the State-Nation is a myth. All that the State-Nation does is legitimate in that it is a manifestation of the divinity of its power. Every expression of its will is compulsory because its will is the only justice, its word is the only law, its perfection is the only end. The rights of the individual are only a consequence of the rights of the State. The right exists inasmuch as the State proclaims it, and in virtue solely of that declaration. The natural right does not exist. The State is the only source of rights, and the organs of the State always have the faculty of limiting the very substance of the rights attributed to the citizen, according to the collective interest.

It is well to point that these ideas—taken in

part, and more or less faithfully, from Hobbes, Spinoza, and Hegel—cannot be accepted, and, in fact, are not accepted, by the Catholics. The transcendental character of the nation, the "totalitarian" conception of the State—All for the State, nothing against the State, nothing without the State—are notions which clash on the one hand with the Christian idea, and on the other hand with the constitution of the Catholic Church. The Pope has been the first to condemn on several occasions the State idolatry of Fascism, according to which the State becomes an end and not a means, while the individual is completely submerged in it. And Giovanni Gentile himself, speaking of the modern State and of the Catholic Church, observes: "They are two worlds conceived in such a manner that each for itself is all; and each, therefore, excludes the other." But, apart from these doctrinal differences, the fact remains that their application in Fascist Italy has contributed to create an atmosphere—if only by getting rid of all the rationalist and Liberal premises—favourable to a *rapprochement* with the Church. Nor is it necessary to say that this *rapprochement* was desired and promoted by the Nationalists

for reasons that were not doctrinal but of a political character, reasons of internal as well as of foreign policy.

At home they looked with a favourable eye on an increase of the influence of the Church and of the Catholics in order to combat the Socialists and the Liberals. On the other hand, they were fond of presenting the Papacy as the first of Italian glories, nay as a great Roman and Italian institution, and Catholicism as the heir of the Roman Empire. They pointed out that the Pope, the Nuncios, the dignitaries, and the legates, being for the most part Italians, could become a valuable factor for the diffusion of Italian civilization abroad. They considered that a policy favourable to the Church should result in an enhanced prestige for Italy in the Catholic countries and in all the Catholic parties. Nor were considerations of a more practical character lacking; as, for example, that of the opportuneness of obtaining the alliance of the Catholic missions, not only for international rivalries in Asia and in Africa, but also in order to favour Italian economic penetration.

There had, then, already been in existence for

several years in Italy philosophic and political currents that, reacting against Positivism and Agnosticism on the one hand and against Liberalism on the other, aimed at turning the Italian people once again towards religion and the Catholic Church. Of this atmosphere Benito Mussolini has taken full advantage.

He was the man needed to draw a practical conclusion from the ideas and the sentiments that had been forming. About a year ago Cardinal Gasparri is reported to have said to two Senators who were paying him a visit and who mentioned the Roman Question: "The difficulties are very great, and on the part of Italy one man only is in a position to overcome them: Mussolini." The Pope, too, speaking two days after the signature of the Lateran Treaty to a delegation of Milanese Catholic students, said that in order to reach the Reconciliation "a man such as the one that Providence has put in our path" had been necessary.

By these words neither Cardinal Gasparri nor Pius XI wished to allude to a deep religious sentiment or a personal inclination towards religion on the part of the actual head of the Italian Government. Such an interpretation would be

inadequate. They meant that by reason of a host of circumstances, as well as the particular temperament of the man, Mussolini has succeeded in overcoming obstacles against which the good intentions of any other statesman would probably have battled in vain. Above all, the Pope as well as Cardinal Gasparri must have come to the conclusion that, without the political and social conditions that have been created in Italy by Mussolini, the problem would never have been solved. In point of fact, on every occasion in the past when it has in one way or another been brought up for consideration, the discussions have been so many and so heated, and opinions have been shown to be so divided, that it would have been difficult for a statesman to succeed in calming the storm. Very different, instead, is the actual position, when the only voice that may echo in a silent Italy is that of the Duce.

Mussolini has not had a religious education—although his mother was a very religious woman—and has never even shown any religious sentiments in his past as a politician, before his advent to power. The Italian Socialist movement—as it appeared from the theories of its various

chiefs and as it was interpreted by the masses—has been essentially positivist; and a materialist—whatever may have been the hidden instincts of his conscience—has Mussolini always appeared, until 1915, that is, so long as he remained in the Socialist ranks. But there can be no doubt that from the moment when he began to occupy posts of responsibility in public life and had an intuition of the great possibilities that the future might have in store for him, Mussolini showed that he understood and appreciated the enormous importance of the Church and of the religious problem in their relation to Italian life.

It must not be forgotten that the Nationalist passion lies at the roots of every act and of every attitude of the Duce. Everything in him is subordinated to the dream of making his country great and powerful in the world. Opinions may differ as to the way in which he tends to realize this dream, but nobody can doubt that it constitutes the passion of his days and nights. Consequently also, in judging the part that Mussolini has played in the solution of the Roman Question, it is necessary to bear in mind the central idea from which spring all his decisions.

In the first speech which Mussolini delivered in the Chamber as a deputy, he said, among other things:

> The State does not intend to abdicate to anyone. Whoever rises against the State will be punished. This explicit reminder is for all citizens, and I know that it must sound particularly acceptable to the ears of the Fascists who have fought and conquered in order to have a State which imposes its will on all, I say on all, with the necessary inexorable energy.

In spite of this curt declaration, which expresses an unconditional belief in the absolute and universal sovereignty of the State, and that "on all" which was meant to include the Catholics, Mussolini must even from that period have cherished the idea of a compromise with the Church. Perhaps the elevation to the pontifical throne of Cardinal Ratti, with whom, when the Cardinal was Archbishop of Milan, he had had courteous relations, appeared to Mussolini to be of good omen. In fact, when asked by a newspaper to express his opinion on the choice that the Conclave had made, he wrote at the time:

> As a Milanese citizen—even if only by adoption—I share in the general joy of the Milanese at the elec-

tion of Cardinal Ratti as head of the Catholic Church. The new Pope—in addition to those qualities which I will call religious—possesses aptitudes and qualities which render him very acceptable also to our world, the lay world. He is a man of profound historical, political, and philosophical culture, and, having lived for a long time abroad, he has a deep knowledge of the situations in Eastern Europe, and, like all those who live, or have lived, outside the frontiers of the Fatherland, he cannot but feel an increased keenness in his sentiments as an Italian.

I consider that with the advent of Pius XI the relations between Italy and the Vatican will improve. Milanese Fascism has come into direct contact with the present Pontiff on the eve of the ceremony for the Unknown Warrior, when it was necessary to make arrangements for the sacred ceremony in the Cathedral. The then Cardinal was most courteous, and dozens of Fascist banners entered the Cathedral. As an old and proved Alpinist, Cardinal Ratti has truly reached the supreme summit.

The evolution of his thought may be discerned from another speech which he delivered in the Chamber on June 21, 1921, in the course of which he said:

I affirm here that the Latin and Imperial tradition of Rome is to-day represented by Catholicism. If, as

Mommsen said twenty-five or thirty years ago, one does not remain in Rome without having a universal idea, I think and affirm that the sole universal idea which to-day exists in Rome is the one which radiates from the Vatican. I am very uneasy when I see that national churches are being formed, because I think that they represent millions and millions of men who no longer look to Italy and to Rome. This is why I think that if the Vatican renounces its dreams of Temporal Power—and I believe that it is already on the road to doing so—lay Italy should furnish the Vatican with the material help, the material facilities for the schools, churches, hospitals, and so forth, which a lay power has at its disposal. The development of Catholicism in the world, with its 400 million men who from all corners of the earth turn their eyes towards Rome, is a reason for interest and for pride also on the part of us Italians.

A few months after the election of Pius XI the march on Rome took place and Mussolini took in his hands the reins of government. To the amazement of the deputies of all parties, after having explicitly declared that with Fascism in power "all religious faiths will be respected, with particular regard for the dominating one, Catholicism," he concluded his first speech to the Chamber as Prime Minister by in-

voking the aid of God in carrying out his programme to its end.

And, soon after this speech, having gone to the Lausanne Conference, he felt afresh the need to make clear his thoughts to a group of journalists with these words: "Religion is a fundamental force which must be respected and defended. I shall, therefore, be opposed to anti-clerical and atheistic demagogy. I affirm that Catholicism is a great spiritual and moral power, and trust that the relations between the Italian State and the Vatican will henceforward be friendly. There is nothing more natural than that the Vatican should have a representative of its own at the Conference, since the Vatican has an enormous influence in the East."

In other speeches he has confirmed the same principles: "Fascism," he once said, "is not an anti-religious movement. It does not propose to *banish God from Heaven and religions from the earth,* as certain materialists proudly and stupidly pretended. Fascism does not consider religion as an invention of priests or as a trick of those who hold power to enable them to rule the poor. Not anti-religious in general, Fascism is not anti-Christian or anti-Catholic in particu-

lar. Fascism sees in Catholicism the gigantic and successful effort to adapt to a people such as ours a religion born in the East among men of other races and with a different mentality. Catholicism is the synthesis between Judea and Rome, between Christ and Quirinus. It is the religion practised for centuries and centuries by the great majority of the Italian people. Universal because created on the structure of a universal empire, Catholicism makes Rome one of the most powerful centres of the life of the religious spirit in the world. As can be seen, the position of Fascism in face of Catholicism is quite different from that of the anti-clericalism which was in vogue in pre-war mediocre Italy." (*Diuturna*, pp. 445–6.)

One might add, although this is not necessary, that from these and from other words to which we have made reference, the position taken up by Fascism and by Mussolini in face of the Church appears as essentially a political position. It is always Rome which dominated, and still dominates, Italian thought. For the Liberals of the Risorgimento the ideal was Rome, which, either in agreement with, or in spite of, the Catholic Church, they wanted to become

the capital of the new State. For Mussolini and Fascism the ideal still is Rome, which, through the Catholic Church, they hope to make the centre from which Italians should radiate throughout the world. The fascination which the Eternal City exercises over the Duce is undoubtedly very powerful. Rome in the past, Rome in the present, and Rome in the future represent for him the glorification of Italianism. He who is usually incisive and unemotional in speaking and writing, becomes lyrical when he touches the subject of Rome. "From Rome," he wrote recently, "went out the missionaries to carry Christianity to the end of the earth. . . . From Rome, the capital which draws thousands from all parts of the world to worship at the tomb of the Apostles, to the most modest Italian village, you will find the shrines of Christianity giving the light which attracts the people to a spiritual realm above the material routine of daily life. . . . Here, on the holy and consecrated ground of Rome, the Apostles trod and began the building of the great structure of Christianity. It was here that the Christian martyrs suffered, and here to-day are the remnants of the catacombs, mute witnesses to the

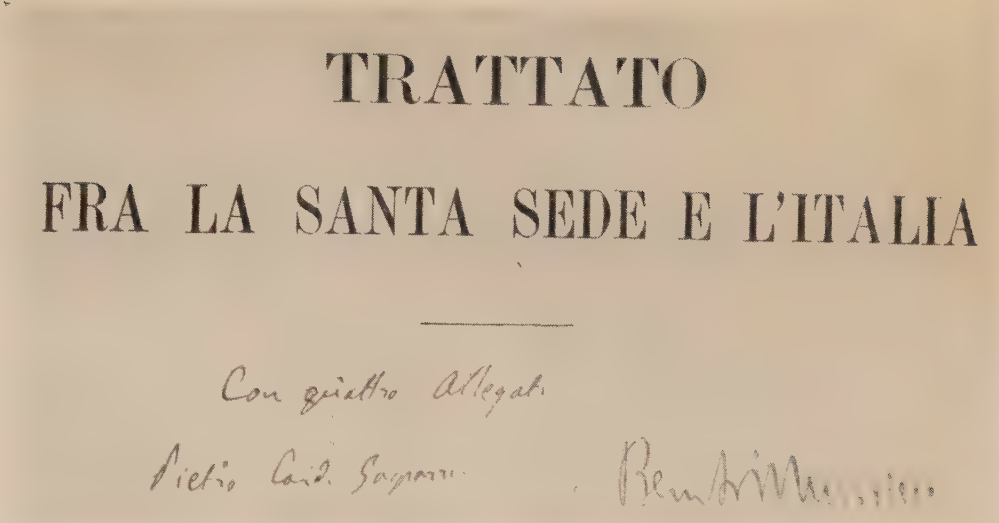
great sacrifices for the faith. And the holy saints through the long centuries continued to consecrate the soil of Italy with their blood. And Italy gave St. Ambrose, St. Benedict, St. Thomas Aquinas, and St. Francis of Assisi. Their shrines, where they worked and administered, are the goals of pilgrims from all over the world. They are the Italian patrimony of consecration to the faith. . . ."

Passing from the theories, the doctrines, the sentiments, and the ideas which explain the atmosphere of new Italy, to the facts, it is easy to see in a series of laws and provisions a slow preparation for the agreement of February 11, 1929.

Before everything else must be placed the law against the secret societies, that is, against Freemasonry. This has always been the sect most hated by the Vatican as the one which was composed of free-thinkers, enemies of the Church, and nothing could have pleased the Pope and the clergy more than its—apparent at least—disappearance from Italian life.

It is well to make clear at once that Italian Freemasonry was never to be confused with

Anglo-Saxon Freemasonry. While the latter has purely philanthropic and brotherly objects and aims, Italian Freemasonry pursued chiefly political objects. Its members consisted of men of different parties, but all of them shared in common the intention of combating the interference and influence of the Catholic Church in public affairs, and of promoting secular education. At the outset its tendencies undoubtedly were honourable and its influence may also have been good. To accuse Italian Freemasonry of having been anti-patriotic may seem absurd if one considers that the Carbonari in Southern Italy were all Freemasons, that Garibaldi was Grand Orient, that Crispi was always a fervent Freemason (Adriano Lemmi, Grand Orient of the time, was his closest friend and supporter), and that Freemasonry played a notable part in determining the entry of Italy into the Great War. But it cannot be denied that during the last forty or fifty years Freemasonry had degenerated into an association for mutual help and for the advancement of its members. The oath which the Freemasons took bound them to render obedience first and foremost to the chiefs of the organization, which thus became a secret *impe-*


TRATTATO

FRA LA SANTA SEDE E L'ITALIA

Con quattro Allegati

Pietro Card. Gasparri

Benito Mussolini

The First Page of the Treaty.

rium in imperio, the members of which had a higher allegiance than that to the Italian State. The natural results followed. Clerks who were Venerables of an Orient exercised an undue influence over Prefects of lower degrees; officials who were Masons would consult their Masonic chiefs before they carried out Ministerial orders; subaltern officers were sometimes the real commanders of battalions. It must be added that the general impression in Italy was that with the protection of Freemasonry it was possible to make a career, obtain good posts, and conclude favourable business transactions. Many used to enter the ranks of Freemasonry solely with the intention of pushing their personal interests, in the same way that many have recently entered the Fascist Party. All this, added to the secret character which the society continued to maintain, although no reasonable or legitimate motive for this was any longer apparent, disgusted and irritated all serious and upright men, so much so that, with the best Italians at least, Freemasonry was towards the end anything but popular.

Mussolini—his consistency in this connection must be given its due—had always hated it.

When he was one of the leaders of Socialism he had passed a resolution .(at the Congress of the party held at Ancona) which declared that membership of Freemasonry was incompatible with membership of the Socialist Party. On coming into power, he fought the Freemasons more fiercely than he did the Communists, and in part for the same reason, that is, for their supposed international relations and sympathies. After the passage of the law against the secret societies, the Grand Orient of Italy was called upon to give lists of its members, and accounts of its proceedings to the new régime. The Masonic lodges were attacked and looted by the Black Shirts, and many Freemasons, solely because they were Freemasons, were persecuted and banished from public life. Several were arrested. The last Grand Master, the Marchese Torrigiani, was sent to a convict island prison. It must be added that Italian Freemasonry put up no show of resistance to this hostility: and this suggests that its power was more imaginary than real.

While the Church thus saw itself freed from its most hated enemy, it could not but help noticing the attentions, the courtesies, paid to it on the part of the Government.

Mussolini never let a chance escape him of giving the Pope the impression that he and his Government felt the highest respect for the Church and its representatives. The celebration of the centenary of St. Francis had in Assisi and throughout Italy the character of an official celebration. Monuments to the saint were erected in Milan and elsewhere. All the ceremonies were attended by the civil authorities, who showed themselves most obsequious. When Cardinal Merry del Val visited Assisi as Papal Legate, he was received with the honours of a Prince and given a military escort. The Government organized similar manifestations on the occasion of the centenary of St. Louis. Scenes that had not been witnessed in Italy for more than half a century occurred during this celebration, when the relics of the saint were carried from city to city, with long processions of priests who passed through the streets with all their vestments and ecclesiastical symbols.

In everything care was taken to do honour again to the Catholic cult. The religious feasts were by degrees converted into civil feasts; the recurrence of September 20—the date of the fall of the Temporal Power—began to be passed

over in silence; several historical convents were restored to the friars, to the nuns and to the Jesuits; the custody of certain historical monuments, such as the Certosa monastery of Pavia, was intrusted to the friars; the crucifix was reintroduced into the schools and the courts; relief from taxes was granted to the clergy; the financial conditions of the Bishops were improved.

The scholastic reform conceived and applied by Giovanni Gentile has been defined by Mussolini as the most Fascist of all the reforms. It contained several excellent provisions: it restored to the Italian school a humanistic character, raised the function of the teacher to that of an educator, and gave increased importance to the moral and spiritual elements. But it pleased the Church above all because the teaching of the Catholic religion in the elementary schools was made obligatory. Also the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart was placed on an equal footing with the Government Universities. All the restrictions and limitations which existed by law and in practice in connection with private teaching were abolished and the clerical schools

and seminaries derived great advantages from this.

But the attitude of Mussolini and his Government towards the Church revealed itself even more clearly in the new Penal Code, prepared by Signor Rocco, Minister of Justice. The code is full of the spirit of that religious teaching which attributes so much power to the fear of hell. The Clerical Press gave to it an enthusiastic reception. Catholics are pleased at the punishments which are proposed for crimes against religion, and also at the abrogation of certain measures included in the old Zanardelli Code against priests who, from the pulpit, took advantage of their position to preach against the State which had taken Rome from the Pope. Whoever disturbs a religious service is to be punished with from one to two years' imprisonment. Whoever uses words or commits acts offensive to those who profess cults acknowledged by the State is to be given imprisonment up to one year; and, if the person offended is a priest, the punishment may be extended to three years. But if the offence is one against the Catholic cult the punishment is increased. Whoever swears in public or offends the persons or the symbols

venerated by the Catholic religion is to be punished with a fine of from 100 to 300 lire.

All the measures introduced by the Fascist Government in the social field, all the proposals it has put forward in this regard—the redoubled vigilance against evil-doers and every sort of intemperance; the censorship on books, the theatre, and the Press; the depopulation of the morally infected centres so as to revive the healthy life of the country; the raising of the standard of family morality by banishing all talk of divorce and threatening those who attempt by going abroad to evade the prohibition, by abolishing the succession duty between near relations, and by exalting, by means of prizes, exemptions from taxation, special favours, and public commendation, the fruitfulness of the nuptial bed—could not but meet, as they have met, with the full approval of the Catholics. Laws directed to the protection of the sanctity of family life are very severe. In the new Code adultery and concubinage are to be punished with imprisonment varying from six months up to three years.

Nor has there been any lack of persons who have thought to discern points of resemblance,

and, therefore, of reciprocal sympathy, between the structure of the Fascist State and that of the Church: as, for instance, the composition and the secrecy of the Sacred College and of the Fascist Grand Council, and the same rigid hierarchies whereby also in the Fascist State the head centres in himself all powers and receives blind obedience.

The first time that Mussolini spoke of the Reconciliation reached between Church and State was in a speech delivered in Rome on March 10 before the Quinquennial Assembly of the Fascist régime.

The part of this speech that he devoted to the event is important, as it represents the thoughts of the head of the Government.

The Italian people [said the Duce] has faith, believes, and is Catholic. And Italy has had the unique privilege of giving hospitality to the centre of a religion for almost two millenniums. It is not the result of a mere coincidence or of man's caprice that this religion arose in and has radiated, and radiates, from Rome. The Roman Empire is the historical presupposition first of Christianity and then of Catholicism. The language of the Church

is still to-day the language of Cæsar and of Virgil. After the long, sad centuries of division and of foreign servitude, Rome had to be the capital of the risen Italy, since no other city could, or can, be her capital; the fateful conclusion of the first phase of the Risorgimento caused a serious dissension which from 1870 onwards tormented the conscience of the Italians. This dissension, a real thorn in the side of the nation, is healed by the agreements of February 11.

These agreements are fair and precise, and create between Italy and the Holy See not a confused and hypocritical but a distinct and loyal situation. I consider, and it ought not to seem absurd, that only where a Concordat exists can there be achieved the logical, normal, beneficent separation between Church and State, the distinction, that is, between the tasks and attributions of the one and the other. Each with its rights, its duties, its power, and its boundaries. Only with this premiss is it possible, in certain fields, to collaborate as between a sovereign and a sovereign power. To speak of victors and vanquished is puerile; one ought to speak of the absolute equity of the agreement which resolves, reciprocally and *de jure*, a *de facto* situation which was definite, but always dangerous and in any case painful.

Agreement is always better than dissension; the good neighbour is always to be preferred to war. The peace between the Quirinal and the Vatican is an

event of supreme significance, not only in Italy but in the world; for the Italians it will be enough to recall that on the day of February 11, 1929, the Supreme Pontiff has finally and solemnly recognized the Kingdom of Italy under the Monarchy of the House of Savoy with Rome as the capital of the Italian State.

On our part we have loyally recognized the sovereignty of the Holy See, not only because this existed as a fact, not only because of the almost irrelevant smallness of the territory requested, a smallness which in no way lessens its greatness of another nature, but because we were convinced that the supreme head of a universal religion cannot be the subject of any State, otherwise there would be a decline in Catholicity, which means universality. We have acknowledged that the Catholic Church has a pre-eminent place in the religious life of the Italian people, and this is perfectly natural in a Catholic people such as ours and in a régime such as the Fascist régime. Here, also, the régime is logical and consistent. This does not mean, it is almost superfluous to add, that the other cults so far tolerated must be henceforth persecuted, suppressed or even simply harassed. That the State is Catholic does not mean that any pressure must be brought to bear making it obligatory for citizens to follow a determined faith, even if it be the faith of the majority.

But with the delimitation of the jurisdictions, the

tasks, and the responsibilities, the path appears clearer and the horizon more serene. A full stop has been placed to fifteen centuries of history.

Here too a policy which was actually followed from 1923 onwards is fixed by law. The Fascist State is not bound, as a few surviving and insignificant Democrats and Masons would pretend, to preserve all the measures of a legislation which was the product of a determined historical period, of sharp tension between Church and State; besides, these laws, with the passage of time and through a Liberalism at first agnostic and finally incapable of exercising any will whatever, became simple pretences.

Events like that of February 11 imply so much that, to judge them, it is necessary to look at them from an historical standpoint. The intuitive soul of the multitudes is in these cases much nearer to the truth than the reasoning intelligence! The soul of the people has felt that the solution of the old and delicate Roman Question is something to be justly proud of and represents a documentation of the strength and solidity of the Fascist régime.

THE CASE CONTAINING THE TREATY WITH THE SIGNATURES AND THE SEALS.

CHAPTER IV

PEACE AT LAST

Thirty-two months of secret negotiations—An official declaration in October, 1927—Story of the negotiations told by Signor Pacelli—The negotiators—From the Cardinal-Nephew to the Cardinal-Secretary of State—Cardinal Gasparri—His statement to the Diplomatic Corps—The historic meeting in the Lateran Palace—Scenes in Rome—The solemn Pontifical Mass at St. Peter's—An imposing procession—The benediction by the Pope—The great reception by Prince Colonna—The "Marchesi del Baldacchino"—Palace gates reopened—The "white" and the "black" aristocracy.

NO less than two years and eight months were occupied in the negotiations! One cannot help recalling Virgil's verse: *tantæ molis erat* . . .! And in this case it was not a question of founding Rome but only a minute city inside Rome! The secrecy, too, of the negotiations, even more than their duration, is something to marvel at. Practically nothing leaked out about them at the time. Now and again there were vague rumours in circulation, which, however, nobody believed.

In September, 1927—a year after the nego-

tiations of an unofficial character had begun—there had been a brief discussion in the Press, which had, however, seemed to everyone to be purely academic. Giovanni Gentile, for the first, wrote an article in the *Corriere della Sera,* in which, taking his cue from a phrase of the *Osservatore Romano,* he supported the view that the reconciliation was a Utopia, nay, an ugly Utopia. According to Gentile a *de facto* reconciliation would be possible—friendly relations between State and Church and concessions by the former, a line which Fascism was following—but a *de jure* reconciliation was inconceivable. While the Pope had never been so free as from 1870 onwards and the Church had never enjoyed so great an independence and prestige, the reconciliation would represent a disadvantage both for State and Church and would be the cause of dissensions.

Such was the thesis of Giovanni Gentile, whom we have presented in the previous chapter as a friend of religion but not exactly of the Church.

The article of Giovanni Gentile brought a reply from the *Osservatore Romano* in which a partial restitution of pontifical territory was in-

sisted upon! Arnaldo Mussolini, who is a brother of the Duce, and whose writings, therefore, are always read with special attention, intervened in the polemic to state that the Vatican would have to be content to become owner of the palaces the use of which it had enjoyed since 1870. Hence there could be no small State.

As a conclusion to the journalistic discussion an official note appeared in the *Foglio d'Ordini* (the Government bulletin) of October 20, 1927. It is worth reproducing in full:

After 57 years [said the note] the so-called Roman Question has recently returned to the forefront of daily topics, arousing a keen and justifiable interest among the public in Italy and throughout the world. The polemic between the organ of the Holy See and certain Fascist writers allows one to arrive, for the moment, at the following conclusions:

1. The tone of the polemic has been high and serene, worthy of the delicate subject, and consonant with the new atmosphere created by the Fascist régime;

2. It can be said, on the basis of the articles of the *Osservatore Romano*, that for the Vatican the question is not one of an international character, but simply bi-lateral, that is, to be settled between the Italian State and the Holy See; which is just from

the historical and logical point of view. It avoids dangerous interventions and useless complications;

3. Taking the articles of the *Osservatore Romano* as a whole, it seems legitimate to deduce that the question of the real political and juridical independence of the Holy See is not necessarily bound up with conditions relating to territory. *It is obvious that Fascist Italy cannot, and could not, possibly discuss a re-establishment, even in a very reduced form, of the Temporal Power which ended in* 1870, *to the immeasurable advantage, in our opinion, of the moral prestige of the Church of Rome.*

In face of the recent manifestations, Fascists who are really conscious of the power and character of the Fascist State, must avoid two antithetical positions, both of them far from the reality: the position of those who dogmatically affirm the absolute impossibility of solving the Roman Question; and the position of those who believe that the question can be easily and rapidly solved.

Never was there in history a knot which has not been untied either by force, by patience, or by wisdom; and the same may be applied to the Roman Question. The Fascist régime, which has the whole of the twentieth century before it, can succeed, without renouncing any of the fundamental rights of the State, where Democracy and Liberalism, after repeated attempts, failed. The conclusion can be stated as: arduous, but not impossible.

The articles of Arnaldo Mussolini and the *Osservatore Romano*, as well as the official note, showed that, a year after the opening of the negotiations, these must still have been presenting serious difficulties. On one side, for example, it was insisted that the Temporal Power, even in a reduced form, should be re-established; and on the other side it was declared that Fascist Italy could never tolerate this; certain demands were put forward on the part of the Pope regarding the Concordat which Italy could not have accepted without humiliating herself. And both parties repeated in chorus: "There is no hurry!" The *Foglio d'Ordini* indeed ended with the usual prophecy that Fascism will last for at least a century.

Luckily we have not had to wait until the year 2000! The negotiations proceeded slowly, with a prudence which can be understood, but finally they were brought to a successful conclusion. The history of their development has been revealed by Professor Francesco Pacelli, who acted on behalf of the Vatican.

The negotiations for the agreement [said Professor Pacelli] began on August 6, 1926. I had just

returned, on August 3, from America, where I had been as a member of the Pontifical Commission for the Eucharistic Congress of Chicago with the Cardinal Legate, the late Cardinal Bonzano, when I learned that the barrister Domenico Barone, Counsellor of State, wished to speak with me. I guessed the reason for his request, and before going to the meeting I received the opportune instructions. On the 6th we met for the first time in the house of Barone himself. Barone said that he had reason to believe that Mussolini would like to know on what basis it would be possible to systematize the Roman Question. I immediately replied that there were two substantial points on which the Holy See would not be able to give way, i.e. for the Treaty, the reconstitution of a small Pontifical State, with the manifest and visible sovereignty of the Pontiff, which could guarantee to the Holy Father the free exercise of his spiritual power; for the Concordat, the possibility of conferring on the religious wedding ceremony, under predetermined conditions, the value of the civil rite.

Barone intimated to me that negotiations were possible on these bases. The series of conversations was, therefore, opened. We met alternatively in our respective houses, and often also at the Law Courts, where Barone, as secretary to the Codifying Commission, had his office. Anyone who might have noted my frequent visits to the building could not

have suspected their true reason, in view of my professional position as a barrister.

This first series of conversations lasted from August 6 till October 4, 1926. In fact, the letter of Mussolini to Barone, dated the day of the "National Festival of St. Francis of Assisi," is of October 4. In his letter the head of the Government authorized Barone to continue the confidential conversations. On October 6 Cardinal Gasparri, in his turn, wrote to me a letter which contained an analogous authorization, in addition, to some reservations which were, however, withdrawn in another letter dated the 24th of the same month.

To give an idea of the laborious nature of the negotiations, I will add that 110 conversations took place between Barone and myself. Then I have had the very high honour of being received in private audience by the Holy Father at least 129 times. The audiences, at which Cardinal Gasparri was sometimes present, extended to as long as three or four hours.

Finally, on November 24, 1926, Barone and myself were able to compile a first text of the Treaty. Only two copies of this text were drafted. And in order that the greatest secrecy should be maintained, the document was entrusted to my barrister son, Charles.

After the first text of the Treaty had been drafted we began to draw up a list of the subjects upon which the Concordat might be based. At this point (this was towards the end of 1926) Monsignor Borgoncini

Duca began to take part in the negotiations. These meetings of three took place at Monte Morio at the residence of Cardinal Granito di Belmonte, numbered 10 in all, and lasted for days at a time. In fact they began at 8 in the morning and extended till 6 or 7 in the evening.

The text of the Concordat was virtually completed in February, 1927, but it was drafted only in April of the same year, at the time when it was communicated to the respective parties. Meantime our conversations continued, with various suspensions, with the object of perfecting the first text of the Treaty as well as that of the Concordat.

On May 20, 1928, we drew up in duplicate, for our own use and only for our own use, the definite texts of the Treaty and the Concordat, with the annexed financial convention. On September 3 I went to Ussita near Visso to see Cardinal Gasparri, who had examined the two texts. The Secretary of State the same day sent to me a letter in which, while making many reservations as to details, he declared that official negotiations could be opened for the solution of the Roman Question. On September 7 I went to Santa Margherita Ligure to see Professor Barone and communicate to him the decision of the Vatican. Barone, who was already in bad health, returned from Santa Margherita to Rome on September 27, but only on November 9 was he able to show a letter directed to him by Mussolini, in which the head of

By courtesy of the *Illustrazione Italiana*.

A Scene Before the Lateran Palace: a Priest Reading the Official Communiqué of the Signature of the Peace Treaty (February 11th, 1929).

the Italian Government declared, in his turn, that he considered the opening of official negotiations possible.

November 22 is the date of the letter of H.M. the King of Italy delegating the head of the Government, and with the power to sub-delegate Barone, to undertake the official negotiations for the solution of the Roman Question and to sign the texts of the relative Treaty and Concordat. On November 25 the Holy Father, in his turn, delegated Cardinal Gasparri in a similar manner, with the power to sub-delegate Mgr. Borgoncini and myself.

Unfortunately, after a long illness, Domenico Barone died on January 4, 1929.

On the evening of January 7 a telephonic communication reached my house: the head of the Government did me the honour of inviting me to meet him. We met on the morning of the 8th. Mussolini told me that he would not appoint anyone to take the place of Barone, but would continue the negotiations in person. He gave me the usual appointment for the same evening. Sometimes I used to go in the afternoon, more often in the evening to the private residence of the head of the Government in Via Rasella.

Our conversations began at 9 p.m. and sometimes lasted until 1 o'clock in the morning. I used to look with the greatest admiration at the man who stood before me, and for whom neither day nor night brought rest but only a continuous passionate labour

in the interests of the nation. Mussolini rediscussed all the Treaty and all the Concordat point by point. But with him the negotiations were able to proceed with great celerity. In fact, with the elimination of every intermediary, I was able every morning to relate to the Holy Father my conversations of the previous evening.

The last eight meetings of the last cycle of the negotiations, begun, as I said, on January 8, were attended also by three experts: Signor Rocco, Signor Consiglio, and Signor Cozza. The time had arrived to revise from a technical point of view the texts of the documents and the annexes.

At least twenty copies were made of the three texts, as they had to be studied not only by the Italian Government and its experts, but also by Cardinal Gasparri and the Holy Father himself, who was very constant in prayer, invoking Divine aid at the moment of concluding a Treaty so important for the Holy See.

The negotiations were, then, conducted practically by two men: Professor Pacelli for the Vatican, consistorial barrister, an experienced jurist who enjoys the confidence particularly of Cardinal Gasparri; and the barrister Domenico Barone for the Italian Government, an equally eminent jurist, member of the Council of State and of the International Reparations Commis-

sion and author of numerous legal works. Behind them were the King and the Pope, Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri. It is now known that King Victor Emmanuel III took a very keen interest in the development of the negotiations, and that in the summer of 1928 His Majesty spoke with great satisfaction of the progress made to Cardinal Maffi, Archbishop of Pisa, who was paying him a visit at San Rossore. But, naturally, the two persons who had the greatest responsibility in the whole matter were Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri.

Whatever Cardinal Gasparri's personal views on the conciliation might have been, the office he held necessarily made him in these negotiations the official representative of the Pope. The Secretary of State is, in fact, the man who personifies and directs Pontifical policy in his relations with the whole of the world outside the Vatican. The creation of this office dates back to 1500. A Pope of the Middle Ages had no need of Secretaries of State, since the government of the Church at that time was autocratic, theological and canonical: the Holy See affirmed and commanded, but did not discuss or negotiate. It is since 1500 that the Popes have had

to have what may be called a policy. The new functions called for a new organ, and thus the office of the Secretary of State was created, and for 150 years this was invariably entrusted to the Cardinal-Nephew. Before that time the Popes, or certain Popes at least, had enriched their nephews; after 1500 they made of them State dignitaries. The Cardinal-Nephew was also called the Master-Cardinal. The instructions which in 1602 Sixtus V imparted to his nephew Montalto, gave an idea of what the attributions of the Master-Cardinal were.

> It is with him [said the Pope] that the ambassadors of the Princes treat; it is through him that the Pontiff learns of the desires and needs of the whole of Christendom; it is to him that the Nuncios and the high ministers of the Holy See write; it is through his intercession that many of the ecclesiastical posts and benefices are conferred, and, what is more important still, it is to him that the promotion of the Cardinals is due; finally, it is through him that the Pope makes known his thoughts.

Sixtus V added that the Master-Cardinal had to be a very prudent man who "should constantly keep a close watch on his tongue"; he had to display a mixture of "gravity and sweetness,"

have a very good knowledge of foreign affairs, and be very skilful in conversation, starting always "from the pleasant and easy topics. . . ."

In 1692, after Innocent XII had abrogated the custom of associating the nephew of the Pope with the power of his uncle, the post remained just as it was; but its holder was no longer known as the Cardinal-Nephew, but as the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State is the Foreign Minister of the Holy See, but since all important acts of the Curia require his collaboration, he is also the *alter ego* of the Pope.

Twice weekly the Secretary of State receives, one after the other, the diplomats accredited to the Holy See, and this is his first occupation; the second—in importance—is the correspondence with the Nuncios. The diplomatic dinners at which in accordance with etiquette, the Popes are not present—are given and presided over by the Secretary of State.

Every morning he is received by the Pope. In the evening, at the Angelus, he in his turn receives visitors, who are always numerous because access to the Secretary of State is relatively easy.

The present Secretary of State, Pietro Gasparri, is seventy-seven years old and was born at Ussita, a little mountain village in Umbria, famous for its goats. The best years of his life were passed at the Catholic Institute of Paris as Professor of Canon Law. He was Secretary of State also under Benedict XV, so that he is the only statesman in Europe who has remained in power throughout the war and post-war period. No one is more *au courant* than he with the history of the war and the peace. He is a cultured man with a very clear mind, a deep knowledge of men, most amiable in his exterior manners, a little sceptical in his inner heart, and endowed above all with a keen sense of humour. A thousand anecdotes and *bon mots* are linked with his name. During the last Conclave, as the finances of the Vatican were anything but flourishing, the reception to the Cardinals was not particularly sumptuous. When it was mentioned to him that one of the Cardinals had noted the fact, he replied: "Say that it is the goat-herd who has ordered things so!"

It was Cardinal Gasparri, in his position as Secretary of State, who gave to the world the

first official announcement of the peace reached between Italy and the Holy See. As early as December, 1928, some foreign newspapers had already published vague news as to the imminence of an agreement and as to its probable contents. Towards the middle of January, 1929, *The Times* of London, in an important dispatch from its Rome Correspondent, confirmed the news and added several interesting particulars. Finally, in the issue for February 1 of the *Revue des deux Mondes,* M. René Pinon, who is known for the accuracy and authoritativeness of his information, wrote an article which left no room for doubt. But the Italian Press had received orders not to say a single word, and the Italian public, except for political and journalistic circles, was left completely in the dark up to the last moment as to what was happening.

On February 7 Cardinal Gasparri urgently called the heads of the diplomatic missions accredited to the Holy See to a meeting in the Vatican. At about 10 a.m. the court-yard of San Damaso, the heart to which lead all the arteries of the Vatican palaces, was a scene of unusual animation. There was a continuous flow of the motor-cars of the Ministers, who

had divined the motive for the unusual and urgent summons, but were none the less curious and interested. All made their way to the apartment of his Eminence, the Secretary of State. In the great hall of the Congregations had been placed twenty-five arm-chairs, gilded and covered in damask, corresponding to the number of the diplomats accredited to the Vatican. Within a short space of time everyone was in his place. Cardinal Gasparri, who wore a black robe piped with red, with band and mantle of purple—that worn by the Cardinals at civil ceremonies—entered, accompanied by the Substitute-Secretary, Mgr. Pizzardo, and without making any opening remarks, read from a sheet of paper the following declaration:

About two years ago Signor Mussolini, in an autograph letter addressed to Signor Barone, Counsellor of State, and using the latter as intermediary, let the Holy See know in confidence of his desire to see the so-called Roman Question finally settled. As the matter was of transcendent importance, the Holy Father wished before everything else to know in this connection the thoughts of all the Cardinals who, as might have been expected, replied that a similar desire could not be rejected *a priori,* the more so that the

Holy See itself, and particularly, as is well known, the Supreme Pontiff Leo XIII, had manifested the desire on other occasions.

Conferences of a completely private character were therefore, begun. The Holy Father expressly laid down the condition that the object of these conferences should be not only the formation of a Treaty for the solution of the Roman Question, but also, contemporaneously and inseparably, the conclusion of a Concordat to order and regulate the conditions of religion and of the Church in Italy. The result of the long and laborious conferences and of the careful examinations to which such conditions were submitted, was a Treaty and a Concordat which responded to the wishes of the Holy Father; the Treaty, in fact, essentially assures the Holy See that position which it has always claimed and which is due to it by virtue of Divine law itself, that is, a position which assures it full liberty and real, visible independence in the government of the universal Church; and the Concordat makes sufficient provision for religion and the Church in Italy.

As matters have reached such a point, the definite conclusion cannot be far off, indeed, can only be near at hand; and the Holy Father has wished that I should inform the representatives of the various Powers accredited to the Holy See of this, so that they in their turn may inform their respective Governments.

His Holiness is persuaded that the Governments

who chose to be represented at the Vatican when the Pontiff occupied a palace of which he had only the mere use, will more willingly wish to be so represented when he will be sovereign, free, and independent in his small State.

The days that followed were made memorable by the events in themselves as well as for the manner in which they took place. Those who were privileged to be present were deeply impressed by the solemnity of the ceremonies, by the picturesqueness of the scenes, by the pomp of the religious rites, and by the truly extraordinary aspect that Rome—always so spectacular—presented. The day preannounced by Cardinal Gasparri in his communication to the Diplomatic Corps was not long in arriving. On February 11 at midday the formality of signing the documents took place in the Lateran Palace, which is situated in Piazza San Giovanni Laterano, on the site of the Patriarchate where, with a magnificent mounted procession, the Popes, immediately after their election, went on a white palfrey to take solemn and effective possession of their high office. The Emperor Constantine presented the building to Pope Sylvester,

and from that year, that is from A.D. 314 to 1304, it was the Pontifical residence and the centre of the whole Christian world. In it took place the greatest events of the epoch, such as the visit of Charlemagne and the Jubilee of 1300 (during which Dante imagined his journey into Hell). Various Councils were held in the Council Hall, one of the most important being that of 1123 under Calixtus II, at which the Peace of Worms, which put an end to the struggle of the investitures and vindicated the freedom of the Church, was ratified.

The church, and the present Lateran Palace, which now serves as a museum, were built to the order of Sixtus V, whose wish it was that the Council Hall, or "Saloon of the Popes," should be reconstructed—the same hall in which the signing ceremony recently took place. It is 115 ft. long, 40 ft. wide, and 55 ft. high. The name of "Saloon of the Popes" was given to it because high up on its walls are reproduced the figures of the Popes from St. Peter to St. Sylvester. The ceiling is formed of gilded wooden panels, and the paintings are by Nebbia and Paolo Brilli. In the lunettes are represented the principal events which took place under

Pope Sixtus V. The fresco on the wall to the right as one enters recalls the construction of the "Fountain of Moses" in San Bernardo delle Terme; the other, facing it, the building of the Quirinal Palace, with the background of Porta Pia.

Between the windows all round stand glass cases containing the Lateran collection of Oriental coins, and several precious objects such as the silver chandeliers offered to Pius XI by the Chinese minister Long-Tsing-Tsiang previous to his conversion to Catholicism and entry into the Benedictine order.

The morning of February 11 broke cloudy and rainy; but, as a consequence of the rumour that the first official meeting between the State and the Church would take place at the Lateran Palace, a curious crowd gathered from an early hour in the piazza. Strongly represented, naturally, were the journalists, photographers, and cinematograph operators, while many foreign visitors were to be noted, as well as a large number of Roman seminarists—the young militia of the Church. Here were the red sashes of the collegians of the Propaganda Fide, there the violet-coloured cassocks of the Vatican seminar-

THE SIGNATURE OF THE TREATY.

From left to right: Mgr. Pizzardo, Mgr. Borgoncini Duca, Cardinal Gasparri, Signor Mussolini, Signor Rocco, Signor Giunta; *standing* is Signor Pacelli.

ists, and elsewhere the red robes of the German College. Friars of every order, nuns, priests, who mixed with unusual ease and familiarity with the ordinary public, soldiers of the King of Italy and Fascist militiamen, all helped to swell the throng.

Shortly before midday Signor Mussolini, accompanied by the Under-Secretary of the Prime Minister's Department, Signor Giunta, the Minister of Justice, Signor Rocco, and the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Signor Grandi, Cardinal Gasparri, the Substitute-Secretary, Mgr. Pizzardo, and the Secretary for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs, Mgr. Borgoncini Duca, arrived in their motor-cars and were accorded a warm and enthusiastic greeting.

The plenipotentiaries seated themselves in arm-chairs covered in antique damask, at a precious table of rare wood from the Philippine Islands, constructed in a single piece, nearly 17 feet long by 4 feet wide. On the table had been spread a purple cover.

As soon as Mussolini and Mgr. Borgoncini Duca had read their credentials, Cardinal Gasparri signed the Treaty with a gold pen sent by the Pope. He then made a gift of the pen to

Signor Mussolini, who likewise appended his signature with it.

The ceremony was brief and austere.

As the parties left the Palace, the demonstrations were renewed: the seminarists, the friars, and the priests stood with bare heads in the piazza and began to intone a Te Deum in which the crowd joined. The whole formed a moving and unforgettable scene.

It is not difficult to imagine the great excitement that reigned in Rome throughout the whole of that day. From all public buildings and from the balconies and windows of private houses the Italian tricolour and the Papal white and yellow flag began to wave side by side in a union which only a few days previously would have seemed impossible. An enterprising trader—of neither the Catholic nor the Protestant faiths—having got wind of the impending event, laid in a large stock of Papal flags of all sizes and is said to have realized a large profit by his acumen.

The day that followed—February 12—was unforgettable. As it marked the seventh anniversary of the coronation of Pius XI, there had been a desire to make the conclusion of peace

between the State and the Vatican coincide with this propitious event.

The great Pontifical mass was celebrated in St. Peter's in the presence of the Pontiff, the officiating priest being Cardinal Locatelli, to whom, as the first Cardinal created by Pius XI, this honour fell in accordance with ancient custom.

The old and glorious Basilica offered an imposing picture. Among the enormous crowd packed within its walls were to be noted, in addition to the representatives of all the ecclesiastical orders in the robes of various colours and designs, Roman noblemen who were wearing the uniform of the Noble Guard of the Pope, the diplomats in their gold-embroidered uniforms, gentlemen in evening dress, the Pontifical gendarmes with their white breeches and huge *kolbak,* the Swiss Guards in their yellow-red-blue uniforms, many officers of the Italian Army (admitted, for the first time and as an exception, in uniform, to St. Peter's) and ladies dressed in black, their heads covered with a veil. Another novelty was the presence of members of the Italian Government and representatives of all kinds of official Italy; nor was there any

lack of foreign visitors, among whom were the King of Sweden, who had arrived an hour before the beginning of the ceremony (something unique for a monarch) the brother of the King of Siam, and other distinguished persons from all countries.

The throne of white damask for the Holy Father had been erected to the left of the Altar, *in cornu Evangelii,* upon a platform of three steps. High overhead stretched the purple, gold-fringed baldachin, decorated with the coat of arms of Pius XI and illuminated by electric lamps. Behind the throne hung a rich cloth of silver brocade embroidered with a frieze.

Four rows of chairs covered in vari-coloured fabric, were placed for the members of the Sacred College, and others for the Bishops, Archbishops, the heads of the Congregations, and the canons of the Basilica.

On the stroke of 10:30 His Holiness, accompanied by his Court, escorted by the Noble Guard, and preceded and followed by two detachments of the Swiss Guard with their cuirasses and halberds, left his private apartment and proceeded to the Chapel of the Sacrament, where the canons of the Chapter of St. Peter's,

headed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Mgr. Rossi, were awaiting him. Here he donned his white mantle and the Triregno, or triple crown, and then entered the chapel of San Sebastian, where the Sacred College were gathered in a kneeling attitude. Here the Pope ascended the *Sedia Gestatoria,* which was borne by 24 *sediari,* or carriers, and flanked by the two *flabelli,* or fans composed of magnificent feathers, made his entry into the Basilica, announced by a long blast from the silver trumpets.

Small hand-bills had been distributed among the people bearing a phrase in Latin: *His Holiness does not wish for any applause.* But in spite of this order as soon as the trumpets sounded a loud cheer broke from the dense crowd and re-echoed through the immense building. Then, as if repentant for their disobedience and as a sign of reverent respect, the whole of that immense throng fell to its knees.

The imposing procession passed slowly across the Basilica.

First came a great golden cross; next the groups of *sediari* in their settecento costumes of crimson brocade, followed by the private servants of the Pope in their flame-coloured gowns,

the officers of the Pontifical armed bodies, the gentlemen of the bed-chamber in jerkins of black velvet, the procurators of the religious orders, the private chaplains, the consistorial barristers in scarlet togas, the prelates entitled to vote at the apostolic Segnatura, and the judges of the Sacred Rota.

At this point there was a short gap in the procession, and then appeared another high golden cross borne at the head of the Cardinals in their red capes and ermine mantles. Among them, white-haired and smiling, his figure still erect, was Cardinal Vannutelli, who is ninety-four years old! Each Cardinal was attended by his train-bearer in a crimson-coloured gown.

Prince Colonna, the Princes' Assistant at the Pontifical Throne, preceded the remainder of the procession, together with the Cardinal Deacons, Laurenti and Galli. Last of all came the apostolic clerks, the Prefects of the Ceremonies, the commanders of the Swiss Guard, and Prince Massimo, the Postmaster-General of the Pope.

Near the Altar the Pope, still seated on the *Sedia Gestatoria,* was surrounded by the officers of the Noble Guard, by mace-bearers in Spanish costumes, and by the Swiss Guards with un-

sheathed swords. While the choir of the Sistine Chapel intoned the *Tu es Petrus,* the Holy Father was carried to the Papal Throne. After all the Cardinals had one by one made a genuflexion before His Holiness, as a sign of obedience, the two Cardinal Deacons, and Cardinal Gasparri and Prince Colonna took their places near to him.

At the end of the ceremony the procession reformed and the Pope was about to re-enter his apartment when the people, who had remained for several hours packed tightly outside in the cold rain in the Piazza di San Pietro, began to raise their voices and invoke the Papal benediction. Pius XI originally had decided not to show himself to the public and not to impart the benediction, as the Treaty had not yet been ratified by Parliament or sanctioned by the Sovereign; but, yielding to the prayers of several high prelates who begged him to give this proof of benevolence to the Roman public, His Holiness proceeded to the outside loggia of the Basilica and showed himself dressed in his white robes, mozetta, and Red Hat.

A moment of solemn silence followed.

Then the troops presented arms and the military band played the Pontifical hymn. The

crowd knelt with bared heads, indifferent to the rain. The Pope contemplated the impressive scene for a moment, serene and smiling, and then traced in the air, with a comprehensive gesture as if he wished to embrace the whole of that multitude, the sign of benediction.

A single immense shout swept up to him, up to the dome of the Basilica, and lost itself across the Seven Hills of Rome: "Long live the Pope! Long live Italy!"

In the afternoon of the same day, February 12, a great reception was held at his palace in Piazza Santa Apostoli by Prince Marcantonio Colonna.

This event, in appearance simply of a social character, deserves mention because it, too, marked an historic date. The Reconciliation, in fact, has brought about a curious change, not only in the attitude but also in the customs and etiquette of a part of the Roman aristocracy.

In 1870, when the Temporal Power fell, the Roman aristocracy were divided into families which owed their nobility to the Popes and into others which, while originating from a feudal

nobility—that is, one not conferred by the Popes—were, however, equally attached to the Papacy because of the many benefits they had received from it. Among the latter families the most conspicuous were—and still are to-day—the Colonna, the Orsini, the Massimo, the Caetani; among the former, which had seen members of their blood seated on the throne of St. Peter's, were to be numbered the Borghese, the Barberini, the Aldobrandini, the Odescalchi, the Ludovisi, the Chigi, the Braschi.

Alongside these nobles there lived in Rome many families not of princely nobility, but often older and more illustrious than the others, such as the four so-called "Marquesses of the Baldachin," that is, the Patrizi, the Sacchetti, the Thedoli and the Costaguti. They were so called because of the privilege granted them of carrying the poles of the Pontifical baldachin at the various solemn ceremonies. In olden times this privilege had been disputed with such bitterness that it had given rise to scenes of violence, and in order to prevent such scenes the Pope designated those to whom the honour should fall for all time. The Marquesses of the Baldachin have the right to use "Don" and "Donna," as have

Princes and Dukes. Another of their rights consists in having in the entrance-hall of their houses their arms surmounted by a Baldachin, and alongside there are a cushion and an umbrella called "basilica," to indicate that etiquette grants to the Marquesses of the Baldachin the privilege of receiving the Pope in their homes.

In addition to the office of carriers of the Baldachin, it may be said that all the most important ceremonial offices and also several definite posts have always been entrusted by the Popes to members of the Roman aristocracy. Thus the post of Assistant to the Pontifical Throne was conferred by Sixtus V on the first-born sons of the Orsini and Colonna families; and as, after many centuries of discussion, the precedence between the two great families could never be decided, the custom was established that a Colonna should act one year and an Orsini another year. The Grand Master of the Holy Hospice is Prince Ruspoli, the Grand Quartermaster of the Sacred Palace the Marchesse Sacchetti, the Grand Equerry the Marchese Serlupi Crescenzi, the Postmaster-General Prince Massimo.

During recent years these last two posts had become purely nominal in character, the first

when the carriages of the Vatican were replaced by motor-cars, and the second when the Vatican no longer had a postal service of its own.

To the posts above mentioned must be added that of Marshal of the Conclave, which, when the Savelli family died out, passed to the Chigi family; and that of the Standard-bearer of the Holy Roman Church, which falls to the Marquesses of Montoro. Finally, the Noble Guards of His Holiness are by tradition always commanded by a Roman prince, and the present holder of the command is Prince Aldobrandini.

When the Temporal Power fell in 1870, and the Pope considered himself to be a prisoner in the Vatican, the families of the Roman aristocracy split into *whites and blacks.* The *whites* were those who had accepted the new order of things and showed their national and liberal sentiments; the *blacks,* instead, were those who remained rigidly faithful to the Pope. The most intransigent of these *blacks*—such as the Lancellotti and the Massimo—in 1870 closed the shutters of the windows of their palaces as a sign of mourning, protesting that they would not open them again until the Pope should leave the Vatican. In other houses of the *blacks* the Papal

Throne (reserved for the Pope's use whenever he should visit the palace) had been turned to the wall also as a sign of mourning. Whoever has read the novels of Marion Crawford and the Marchioness Lily Theodoli knows that the division between the *whites* and the *blacks* was so wide that a young woman of the *black* Roman nobility might be refused the consent of her parents to her marrying with a young man of the *white* nobility. It is a fact that at the ball which Prince Lancellotti used to give every year during Carnival in his palace of San Salvatore in Lauro, invitations were issued exclusively to the most rigidly *black* aristocracy. In 1883 the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See called a meeting to lament that a lady of the Court of Queen Margherita had been invited to a dinner at a *black* Embassy.

With the arrival of the Reconciliation, all these divisions, ostracisms, and hostilities have, naturally, ended, and the sign of peace in the Roman world of aristocracy was given by the magnificent reception which Prince Marcantonio Colonna held on February 12. His historic palace, too—erected at the time of Boniface VIII and rebuilt by Martin V, who himself was

The Pope in St. Peter's at the Pontifical Mass (February 12th, 1929).

a Colonna, in the early fifteenth century—has now reopened its great doors for the first time since 1870, and in its magnificent rooms Don Marcantonio Colonna—whose family has given to the Church, in addition to a Pope, a score of Cardinals and as many senators—and the Princes, received twenty Cardinals, the whole of the Pontifical Court, all the patricians, and the Diplomatic Corps. Rarely has even Rome witnessed scenes of similar splendour. The Italian and Papal flags flew over the large gateway where the guests were received by the Prince's doorkeeper in a magnificent livery. Each guest was accompanied as far as the reception-room by a suite of footmen in gala uniform. Among the guests Cardinal Gasparri, who wore on his breast the magnificent jewelled cross conferred upon him by the Pope in recognition of his recent labours, was specially complimented.

CHAPTER V

THE "INVIOLABLE ISLAND"

The boundaries of the new Papal State—St. Peter's—The Vatican—The Library, Art Gallery, Museums—The Mosaic Studio and the Tapestry Factory—The Gardens—The finances of the new State—Its Government—The railway station—The old Papal train—Latin the official language—Stamps, communications, and coinage—The organization of justice—The military forces: Noble Guards, Swiss Guards, Palatine Guards, and Pontifical Gendarmes—Castel Gandolfo and the summer Vatican of the Popes.

THE Vatican, with the annexed territory which, up to February 11, 1929, belonged to Italy and after that date has formed the minute, independent Vatican City, has been defined by Mussolini as an "inviolable island of purely religious and spiritual dominion."

The definition is excellent and substantially exact. It is, however, hardly necessary to remark that the "inviolable island" also represents, be it in only a limited degree, a material domain. The Lateran Treaty has, in fact, created

a new sovereign State, the "Vatican City," which will be the smallest State in the world, both in respect of area—about 110 acres (44 hectares) in all[1]—and in number of inhabitants.

Now, what are the boundaries of this new State? What are the parts which compose it? How has it been constituted? How are its services organized? These are questions which will be answered in the present chapter.

The shape of the Vatican City resembles as near as can be that of a triangle, having for its base (lying east) a line running across the opening of the Piazza of St. Peter's and along Via di Porta Angelica, and for its apex the spur of the bastion of the Belvedere which faces Monte Mario. The distance between the base and the apex is a little under 1½ kilometres, while the length of the base itself is about a kilometre. The "City" lies at the centre of the Vatican hill. Along the right-hand extremity of the base it is contiguous with the Via di Porta Angelica, which the left-hand extremity adjoins the Palace of the Santo Uffizio (Holy Office)

[1] To give the reader an idea of the size of the Vatican City, it may be mentioned that St. James's Park contains 93 acres and the Green Park 53 acres.

which remains outside the area of the new State but is protected by the principle of extraterritoriality. To the north-west and south it is surrounded by the walls erected in successive periods by Paul III, Pius IV, Pius V, and Urban VIII—the so-called "Vatican walls." The southern boundary is formed by the arches beneath which one enters the Piazza of Santa Marta, near the Braschi steps and one of the entrances to the Sacristy of St. Peter's. A railing will mark the boundary, and will follow the Piazza of the Sacristy and close the little square which opens in front of the Pontifical Hospital of Santa Marta. As the zone occupied by the German Cemetery and the Palace of the Santo Uffizio has been excluded, both of these will enjoy only the privileges of extraterritoriality. The Piazza of the Sacristy remains Italian territory, an area of only a few square yards, however, since it ends at the Arch of Charlemagne giving on to the Piazza of St. Peter's, which is included in the Vatican City.

The Italian territory begins again along the Via del Santo Uffizio and the Via Teutonica. Near the Piazza del Santo Uffizio lies the Oratory of San Pietro, which was very dear to the Pope,

and the spiritual director of which is Mgr. Borgoncini Duca. The Oratory of San Pietro is joined to the Hospital of Santa Marta by means of an inside passage and a short flight of steps, but both cut across a street which, in reality, is Italian territory. The principle of extraterritoriality will, however, allow the Pope to visit the Oratory while still remaining inside the boundaries of his sovereign State.

The Piazza of St. Peter's, as has been said, forms part of the new State, but will continue in normal circumstances to be open to the public and subject to the police powers of the Italian authorities. These powers will cease at the foot of the steps of the Basilica, although the Temple continues to be open for public worship and the Italian police will, therefore, abstain from mounting the steps and entering the Basilica itself unless they are requested to do so for any reason by the Vatican authorities. When the Holy See, in view of particular ceremonies, shall think fit temporarily to close the Piazza to the public the Italian authorities, unless they should be requested otherwise, will retire outside the Bernini colonnades and their prolongation.

It had been rumoured that the Villa Doria

Pamphili would be included in the Vatican City. It is a fact that the Holy See had, in the first place, asked for its inclusion; but the Italian Government could not see its way to meet this request, and thus the Villa has remained outside.

Such are the principal external features of the new State where it touches Italy. It is understood, of course, that alterations and small building and road-making operations will be necessary in the near future. The Holy See will, under Article 5 of the Treaty, have to close all entrances to the Vatican City by surrounding the open parts with walls, with the exception of the Piazza of St. Peter's. The Italian Government, on its part, has bound itself not to allow any new buildings to be erected in the neighbourhood of the Vatican City such as might allow it to be overlooked, and to this end has undertaken to demolish in part the buildings already existing at Porta Cavalleggeri and along the Via Aurelia and the Viale Vaticano.

Yet within these narrow confines that we have described what a quantity of marvellous things the small inviolable island contains! What

historical monuments, what artistic treasures, what beauty, what splendours!

This territory is small [said Pius XI] but we can say that it is the largest in the world when it contains a colonnade by Bernini, a dome by Michael Angelo, treasures of science in the gardens, in the libraries, and in the beautiful galleries, and then the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles!

Everything that appeals to the spirit of so many millions of faithful scattered all over the world, everything that can stir the imagination of lovers of history, architecture, painting, and books, is enclosed, as in a sanctuary, in this little State which, without an army, without a navy, almost without territory, boasts of being —and, perhaps, is—the most powerful Empire on earth!

A rapid glance at its outstanding features will be interesting.

Whereon the foot of the visitor treads, he feels himself immersed in a solemn quiet and a deep silence: everywhere he finds traces of a remote past or Nature in her sombre mood; works of art that date back to the Renaissance, cypress and myrtle trees which inspire the ob-

server with a strange sense of melancholy and severity.

Here is the Piazza of St. Peter's—the most solemn square in the world. In the middle rises the great Egyptian obelisk, brought to Rome by order of Caligula, erected by Nero in the centre of his circus, and finally placed in its present position in 1586 during the Pontificate of Sixtus V. To the right and left two fountains are playing, the waters of which after rising to a considerable height, fall into two great basins. On the other side runs the famous colonnades, each consisting of four rows of equidistant columns—284 columns and 90 pilasters in all.

Closing the Piazza at one end is the magnificent Basilica. The whole of the new State is dominated by this monumental pile. Voltaire used to say that when he shook his wig he powdered all Switzerland; without being so paradoxical as this, nay, keeping within the limits of reality, it can be said that the shadow of the dome of St. Peter's covers the whole of the new State.

St. Peter's represents in its architecture the pomp of the greatest artists of the Renaissance. Its construction—on the site of the primitive

By courtesy of the *Illustrazione Italiana.*

THE POPE'S BENEDICTION FROM THE BALCONY OF ST. PETER'S ON FEBRUARY 12TH, 1929.

Basilica of Constantine—was begun on April 18, 1506, to the designs of Bramante, who died a few years after the commencement of the work. The work was directed alternately by Raphael and Michael Angelo, assisted by other great architects of the period.

In its best parts all is both colossal and harmonious. This is the secret of St. Peter's. The dome of Michael Angelo rests on the four enormous columns raised by Bramante, each of which is about 100 feet high with a circumference of about 235 feet. Between the immense arches there are 4 medallions in mosaic, nearly 27 feet in diameter, representing the four Evangelists. To give an idea of the great size of these figures, it is enough to say that the pen of St. Luke is seven feet long. The dome has a circumference of 200 feet and is nearly 168 feet high. From the pavement of the Basilica to the top of the cross above the dome there is a height of 435 feet.

Over the High or Papal Altar a modest Baldachin was placed early in the sixteenth century. Pope Urban VIII, of the Barberini family, had it replaced by a much more grandiose structure and entrusted its construction to Bernini. It

measures 96 feet in height and is supported on four bronze spiral columns which rest on marble pedestals. It is known that, in order to obtain the necessary bronze, the Pope ordered the Pantheon to be stripped of the beautiful metallic ornaments of rare workmanship that up to then had been spared by barbarian pillagers: whence it was said at the time, and with good reason, *quod non fecerunt barbari, fecerunt Barberini* (what the barbarians did not do the Barberini did).

Adjoining and almost clinging to St. Peter's is the Vatican. In the Middle Ages the Popes used to live in the Lateran Palace, and near the primitive Basilica of St. Peter's was a modest habitation which originally dated back to Pope Symmachus (A.D. 498–514) but which must have grown to more worthy proportions by the ninth century, as it gave hospitality to Charlemagne in the year 800 on the occasion of his coronation, and to Otto I in 980. It was only towards the middle of the fifteenth century that Pope Nicholas V conceived the idea of building a magnificent residence, and he began its construction in 1450. In 1474 Sixtus IV had built the chapel which bears his name and Innocent

VIII erected a pavilion which became the private residence of the Popes. Under successive Popes great building developments took place. Among the many artists engaged on the architectural side were Bramante and Bernini, while Raphael dedicated himself to the pictorial decorations with his famous Stanze, and Michael Angelo's matchless art is seen in the Sistine Chapel.

No other palace in the world equals the Vatican in interest and historical and artistic importance: it is in itself an ensemble of buildings which alone, without counting the gardens, covers a superficial area of 55,000 square metres, of which 24,000 square metres are occupied by twenty court-yards. The halls, the chapels, and the rooms number several thousand. Of these the apartments of the Pope and the Pontifical Court occupy only a small part, the remainder being taken up by the Library, the Museums, and the Art Galleries.

The new State is flanked, one may say, by the Temple of God on one side, and by the Temple of Knowledge on the other.

The origin of the present Library dates back to Pope Nicholas V, who was a great lover of

classical studies, and sent the Italian humanists to all parts of the world to collect manuscripts; its position in the Belvedere was chosen by Sixtus V. It is a wonderful hall. The central saloon is about 70 metres long, 15 wide, and 9 high. It is vaulted, and is supported by seven columns which divide into two naves the immense hall of over 1,000 square metres in area. Here and in the surrounding rooms are housed 50,000 manuscripts, more than 6,000 incunabula, and over 700,000 printed volumes! As is known, the Library contains treasures unique in the world. In a glass case is to be seen a manuscript copy of the *Divine Comedy,* presented by Boccaccio—*Johannes de Certaldo tuus*—to his friend Francesco Petrarca; in another are several Virgilian manuscripts, among them the *Roman Virgil* of the fifth century, precious also because among the verses of the *Eclogues* there is a portrait of the poet. And what can one say of the famous palimpsest which underneath the text of a work of St. Augustine written in the seventh or eighth century contains the books of the *De Republica* of Cicero, unknown until 1820? It was in that year that Mgr. Angelo Mai, Prefect of the Vatican Library, succeeded in

miraculously bringing to light, by means of chemical reagents, the pages of the great Roman author, which had remained hidden for fifteen centuries.

Among the other precious treasures must be mentioned an autograph of Martin Luther and one of St. Thomas Aquinas: the two champions of orthodoxy and of heresy find themselves side by side in the same case; the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, written in his own hand; several autograph ballads of Torquato Tasso; designs by Raphael; the poems of Michael Angelo, and so on.

No less interesting than the Library are the Picture-gallery and the Museums. The Gallery contains, in addition to a precious collection of works of the Sienese and Umbrian schools, pictures by Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, Domenichino, and Correggio. The Museums represent the greatest collection of antiquities in the world: the Egyptian Museum, the Pio-Clementino Museum (with the Laocoön and the famous Apollo Belvedere), the Chiaramonte Museum and the Etruscan Museum. But who, having perhaps only a few days in Rome, has not visited these museums and has not passed some unforgettable

hours in the Stanze of Raphael and in the Sistine Chapel of Michael Angelo?

Less known, perhaps, are two Vatican institutions which are connected with art: the Mosaic Studio and the Tapestry Factory.

In the Court of San Damaso, encircled on three sides by glazed loggias, at the foot of the great flight of steps which so marvellously joins the three floors, is to be seen a big door bearing the words: "STUDIO DEL MOSAICO IN SMALTI TAGLIATI DELLA REVERENDA FABBRICA DI S. PIETRO." This institution dates back to 1727. Before that time mosaics had been used in St. Peter's, at which masters from Venice, Florence, and other parts of Italy had worked. But it was only then that the idea had arisen of establishing a Studio dedicated solely to the mosaic work necessary in the great Basilica. The Studio consists of a long, spacious, and luminous corridor, divided into four great departments. The pavement is in mosaic. Against the walls of the first department stand the cases in which are kept the specimens of the enamels adopted in the Studio. There are upwards of 28,000 different colours in all possible shades! In another department are exhibited the mosaic works

executed either to order or for sale to the public. Particularly interesting are the "small mosaics" works, a specialty of the Roman school, which may be described as mosaic art in miniature: little pictures, paper-weights, knick-knacks of all kinds. Then there is the laboratory where the six mosaicists, directed by Count Muccioli, a clever painter, are continually at work.

Together with the Mosaic Studio must also be mentioned the Tapestry Factory, founded as recently as 1916, and situated in the rooms that up to that year were occupied by the Mint of the Italian Government. Four looms are installed at which work six tapestry makers under the direction of Professor Silvio Grossi. The completion of a tapestry is an event for the little Vatican world. The Pontiff in person visits the factory and, in accordance with the traditional usage, cuts with gold scissors the threads of the warp by which the tapestry hangs. Pope Benedict XV cut the tapestry of the Madonna of Crivelli, presented by the Holy Father to the Queen of the Belgians, which had occupied two tapestry weavers for eighteen months; and Pius XI in February, 1928, cut that of the Madonna

of Pinturicchio, which represented the work of two artists for two years.

Those working in the Mosaic Studio and in the Tapestry Factory will be the only artisans resident in the new State. As for the Library and the Museums, these, in accordance with Article 18 of the Treaty, will remain open to students and visitors as previously.

But it has never been, nor ever will be, easy to penetrate into the Vatican Gardens.

The Vatican Gardens—Horti Vaticani—are of rare beauty. From 1870 up till to-day they have been the only place where the Popes could take walks or ride either in a carriage or motor-car. The gardens were originated by the Roman Pope, Nicholas III, who began to have them laid out in the thirteenth century. Little by little the various Pontiffs embellished them with fountains, plants, flowers, trees, marble ornaments, kiosks, and little villas.

The principal entrance is that which serves for the Museums, at the end of the Via delle Fondamenta. The Pope, instead, entered them up to yesterday by the underground passage built to the order of Pius X, which, from the

covered passage of the Belvedere courtyard, leads into the gardens. Before the principal entrance stretches the beautiful avenue of the Zitella (Spinster)—so called because at the end of it there is a statue which, nobody knows why, is commonly named Zitella, and from the pedestal of which a pretty fountain flows.

Descending to the right of the avenue, one reaches the old green-houses built for Gregory XVI, which still protect beneath their glazed roofs a rich collection of ornamental plants and rare flowers. From here, through a gate, one enters the Belvedere garden, also known as the garden of the Galera (Galley) because of the bronze fountain in the form of a galley from which, through 500 small holes, water of wonderful freshness gushes out. Not far away is the kitchen-garden which provides the fruit and vegetables for the Papal table. At the end of the Avenue of the Zitella are also the poultry-sheds and the dairy from which come the fowls and milk; there are even a few vines which bear delicious grapes.

Below the Viale of the Zitella a small square valley opens, enclosed by a wall and having an area of about five acres. This small valley is

laid out in sixteen flower-beds and is wholly cultivated as a garden. Three of these beds are arranged by means of interlaced myrtle plants, to represent the coats-of-arms of the reigning Pontiff and his predecessors. The garden is dominated by lofty palm-trees and in the centre is adorned with a granite fountain with four statues. Here and there are to be seen other little fountains, and over a hundred large vases containing beautiful small plants are set along the avenues. This magnificent garden—laid out for Gregory XVI (1831)—was enriched by Benedict XV with two rows of orange-trees and several green-houses.

It was Gregory XVI, too, who converted into a garden the old wood which used to rise, after the manner of a hill, on the other side of the square valley. This garden is traversed by three wide avenues which open out like a fan and are flanked by tall hedges of myrtle and by large pine, oak, ilex, and elm trees. Scattered here and there are artistic seats, little summer-houses, and marble statues. And here again there are fountains. The largest of them is called the Aquila (Eagle)—a pile of tufa, cut into grottoes, on the highest of which is placed a marble eagle;

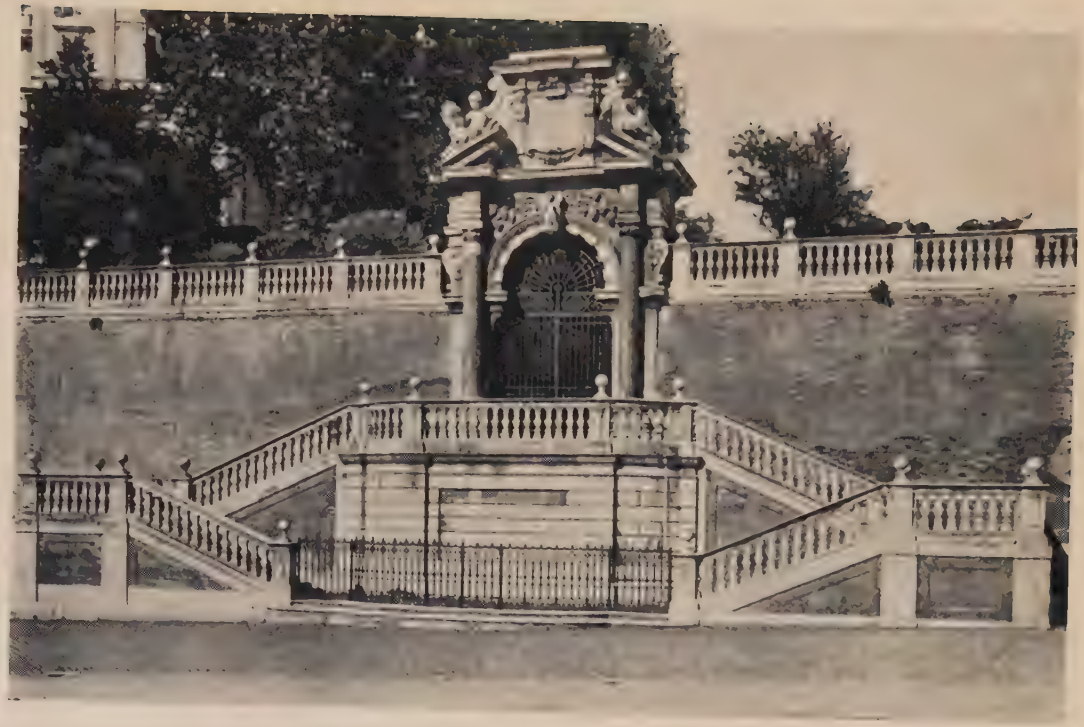
lower down to the south is the Fountain of the Sacrament, which really resembles an altar. In the centre a circular jet of water has all the appearance of the silver crown of rays of a church monstrance, while the vertical jets around and beneath seem like so many candles.

The most precious gem of these gardens is the famous Casino, or country-house of Pius IV, surrounded by a small moat, with the façade delicately worked in stucco, and its temple of the Nymphs, in the form of a porch, or atrium, with columns, which looks towards the front and which is reached by a double flight of steps. Along the boundary walls erected by Leo IV stretches a wide heath shaded by gigantic Lebanon cedar-trees. At one end a magnificent replica of the Sanctuary of Lourdes has been erected during the Pontificates of Leo XIII and Pius X. Along this wall of Leo IV (which gave its name to the Leonine City) is the Vatican Observatory, with its library, its archives, its scientific instruments, and its astronomical museum. In the museum, among other interesting exhibits, there is a block of almost pure iron weighing nearly 7 kilograms, which fell from the sky on January 20, 1869, at Angra dos Reis, Brazil. On a tower

is fixed the great telescope, 7 metres long, with an aperture of 40 centimetres, capable of enlarging the object 2,500 times. Two other telescopes are placed in two smaller towers.

All these gardens of the Vatican have always been, and are still to-day, kept with the greatest care. The Papal gardener once enjoyed special honours and privileges: he used to ride, in the solemn processions when the newly elected Pope took possession of the Papal Throne, after the litter of the Supreme Pontiff, together with the baker, the tailor, and the Palatine barber, and, like all these, he wore a red dress and cloak.

It is known that the cost of maintenance of all the palaces, museums, and galleries of the Vatican as well as of the Nunciatures in foreign countries, and the other activities of the Church represents a heavy burden on the finances of the Pope, even though the Papal purse is abundantly and constantly replenished by the generosity of the faithful of the whole world. Now this burden, as a result of the independence and sovereignty of the new State, will be even greater; but greater also will be the receipts of the Papal Treasury.



The Colonna Palace—Staircase Leading to the Garden Gate.

Thanks to a special convention signed in the Lateran Palace on February 11, 1929, together with the Treaty and the Concordat, the Italian Government has pledged itself to pay in cash to the Holy See, at the moment of the exchange of ratifications, the sum of 750,000,000 Italian lire and to hand over, in addition, Italian State 5 per cent. bearer bonds to the nominal value of 1,000,000,000 (one milliard) Italian lire. The preamble of the Convention says:

> The Supreme Pontiff, considering on the one hand the immense damage sustained by the Apostolic See by the loss of the patrimony of St. Peter, constituted by the old Pontifical States and the possessions of the ecclesiastical bodies, and on the other hand the ever-increasing needs of the Church, be it only of the City of Rome, and at the same time taking into consideration the financial situation of the State and the economic conditions of the Italian people, especially after the war, has thought fit to limit the request for an indemnity to what is strictly necessary. . . .

The sum agreed upon is, in reality, inferior to that which Italy would have had to pay under the Law of Guarantees and which the Vatican has always refused to accept. After sixty years, with capital and interest, the sum would, in

fact, have amounted to 4 milliard lire. In the discourse which he delivered to the Rome Lenten preachers on February 11, 1929, the Pope explained at some length the reasons which induced him to accept even this reduced indemnity. He was moved by considerations of a spiritual character, taking also into account the pressing needs of the missionary movement to which the Holy See intends to give an ever-greater impetus.

Now that this minute State, this minute city, is independent, sovereign, and sufficiently financed, how will it be governed? Not very differently from the way in which it has been governed since 1870. The Vatican, throughout the whole period of the disagreement with Italy, has always governed itself in its own way. The Government of the King never intervened at all.

Now, naturally, it will be necessary to provide not only for internal government, but also for the relations—which have so far been lacking—with the authorities of the Kingdom. This fact will render necessary several innovations.

In the first place, there will be a civil gov-

ernor. The citizens of the new State will depend only on the Pope. About fifty families living in rooms that have now passed under the jurisdiction of the Vatican City were given notice to quit, and the Governor of Rome immediately found other accommodation for them. These removals have been necessary in order to make room for the persons who from now onwards will have to live inside the boundaries of the new State, the citizenship of which is acquired only *jure loci*, that is, by stable residence therein. If residence in the new State should for one reason or another cease, the person, provided he is not subject to any other citizenship, acquires that of Italy. Naturally Vatican citizens who may occasionally find themselves on Italian territory will continue to be subject to the citizenship of the Holy See. The Embassies accredited to the Holy See will, if they so wish, be able to remain in the buildings they now occupy, enjoying the rights of extraterritoriality. Some pretty villas are now being built in the zone adjacent to the Basilica, to the design of the famous architect Senator Luca Beltrami, for the use of the Vatican functionaries and the ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Where the new State has, one may say, to create or organize everything anew is in the public services.

First of all there are the communications.

The Pope, naturally when he makes a journey, must start from his own territory, and when he receives Sovereigns or important foreign visitors, he must receive them on his own territory. This means that the Vatican City must have its own railway station. This, in fact, has been included in the Treaty (Article 6) and work on it has already begun outside the enclosure of the gardens, below the Seminary which is now being built. The lines of the station will extend beyond the boundary walls, which crown the summit of the hill, and the new station will, of course, receive the Papal train only after this has been made up in the outside shunting area. A short tunnel running beneath the Vatican hill will join the inner station with the outside shunting area and with the line which will run to the present station of St. Peter's.

Memories of Papal railway affairs of the period preceding 1870 make very curious reading. In the whole of the Pontifical State there

were only two lines, the Rome-Civitavecchia and the Rome-Frascati. The services could not have been remarkable for their speed if at the stations a notice asked travellers to be in their places in the trains twenty minutes before the announced time of departure, while this regularly took place with an hour or two's delay. A special train for the Pope was presented to Pius IX by Napoleon III in 1858. It is still to be seen at Castel S. Angelo and is an object of interest to visitors by reason of its unusual features: much gilt ornamentation, much bronze work, many windows and oil-paintings, and all the luxury and pomp of the Second Empire that it is possible to imagine. But the engineers of Napoleon III could certainly not be expected to imagine the modern developments in railway comfort. There is, therefore, an entire absence of covered communication between the coaches, while everything is built on a scale which in those days might have seemed majestic, but which today would hardly be suitable for any little secondary railway. The coaches number three, and are painted in three different colours to give a little variety to the whole. Only the chapel coach, built at Clichy, ran on eight wheels. The

other two had four wheels. The imagination of the builders was allowed to have full play, more particularly in the coach that contained the altar where the Pope might go to pray during the journey. Four steps, flanked by a bronze banister, led up to an ample terrace which, covered with a roof supported by decorated brackets, formed a sort of atrium to the travelling church. In the interior at the end stood a little altar and a faldstool. The walls of the coach were covered with ornamentations in the Renaissance style.

The saloon coach, painted on the outside in dark brown, was covered inside with light yellow damask. The interior included a narrow parlour with a sofa, a small toilet room furnished like the old steamer cabins, and a cramped sitting-room. Everywhere there was an abundance of damasks, brocades, velvets, and carpets. From the saloon coach it was possible, if desired, to pass by means of the outside platforms to the terrace of the "belvedere-coach" which was to let the Pope be in full view of the public at the stations where a halt was made.

The new Pontifical train will be very different from the old one. It will be a gift to the

Holy See from the Italian Government, and will be of the most modern type, similar to the Royal train. As the plans have already been completed, particulars of its construction are available. The number of coaches will be the same as for the Royal train, with the addition of a coach destined to house the chapel, in which, it is stated, will hang a Madonna by Raphael. The chapel-coach will communicate with the saloon-coach, which, in addition to the saloon proper, will contain a study with library, and a bedroom. Another coach will be fitted with a second little reception-saloon and a dining-room. Attached to the Papal train will be a sleeping-car and a restaurant-car for the use of the Pope's suite, as well as a coach for the kitchen and the pantry, and another for the luggage. The interior of the saloon-coach will be finished in red silk damask, with designs that will repeat the Papal coat-of-arms, which will also be placed, in gilded bronze, on the outside of the coaches. The heating throughout will be by means of electricity.

The new Papal train will be built in such a way as to allow it to travel over any line in Europe: which means that it will be fitted with

more than one system of brakes, and with a small dynamo installation, because not all States use the Italian accumulator system for lighting.

If a Roman of a century ago, a subject of the old Papal State, could come back to earth, he would be not a little struck by the change in the spirit of the Vatican. That clinging to old traditions, which was so prominent at one time, has vanished. Pius IV, in the Consistory of 1564, exhorted the Cardinals never to make use of carriages. The advocates of carriages had to put up a stiff fight in order to supplant the white horse on which the Pontiff used to mount, a Sovereign holding the stirrups, if a Sovereign were present. The same dislike of change that had shown itself over the carriages, was displayed, at least at the outset, in connection with the steam engine and with all the modern conveniences that science has given us during the last century.

It took a great deal to make the postal service popular! In 1851 in the whole of Rome there were only five letter-boxes and twelve postmen. There were eight kinds of postage stamps, of various colours, but all with a yellow back-

ground bearing the design of the tiara and the keys. Their use was, however, optional for the interior, and, as in the first instance they were not cancelled by a stamping-process, they used to be unstuck and used several times by different persons.

The first telegraph line was laid between Rome and Terracina. Pope Pius IX was present at the inauguration ceremony and sent by telegram his benediction to the people of the city, and then a special blessing to the receiving-clerk, who must have been so pleased at receiving it that he lost his head. The one who was not pleased, however, was the Pope, who was awaiting a reply: "This ass," he is reported to have exclaimed, "might at least have replied with a *gratias tibi ago!*"

The modern Pontifical State is now to have its postal, telegraphic, telephonic, radio-telephonic and radio-telegraphic services, which by Article 7 of the Treaty will be installed by and at the expense of the Italian Government. It is said that the new State will print its postage stamps with the words "Vatican City State," and that very probably it will have its own coinage, seeing that this is one of the prerogatives

of sovereignty. The Papacy has coined its own money for over a thousand years: the last coin was a 5-lire piece of Pius IX: the *Rassegna Numismatica* (Numismatic Review) alleges, however, that there has not been a true and proper interruption, as since 1870 the Pontiffs have taken care to coin for St. Peter's Day that annual medal which it was always said took the place of the former money.

What, it has been asked, will be the official language of the new State? There can be no doubt that it will be Latin—which is also the language of the Catholic Church.

In the list of the languages of the various States there will thus be included Latin, which, officially of course, will no longer be a dead language. In practice the Vatican City will continue to use the Italian as the common language, or, to quote the usual description in the Pontifical documents, as the "vernacular" language.

In diplomatic communications the Vatican City will, as hitherto, use French or Italian. In the speeches addressed to the Holy See the languages usually adopted are Latin, Italian, and French.

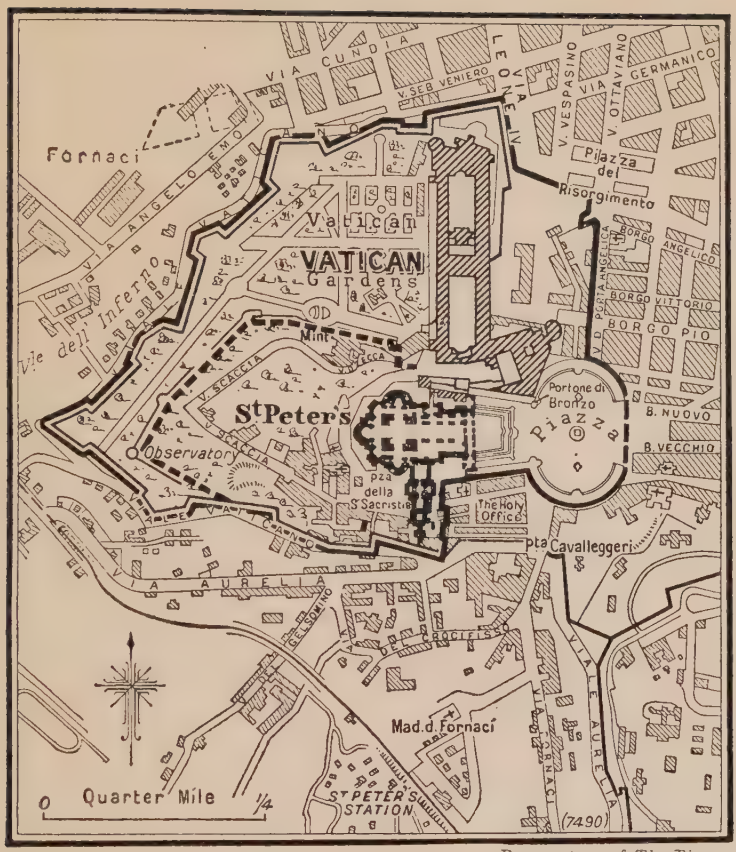
It has also been asked how justice will be administered in the new small State. This is a question which has been provided for by Articles 22 and 23 of the Treaty. Crimes that may be committed in the Vatican City will be tried and punished—at the request of the Holy See—on Italian territory. The Holy See will hand over to the Italian State persons who, being accused of acts committed in Italian territory which are considered as crimes by the laws of both States might take refuge in the Vatican City. Similar provision will be made in the case of persons charged with crimes who might take refuge in the buildings declared immune under Article 15, unless those in charge of such buildings should prefer to ask the Italian police to enter and arrest such persons.

For the execution in the Kingdom of Italy of sentences emanating from the Courts of the Vatican City, the rules of international law will be applied. The sentences and provisions emanating from ecclesiastical authorities and officially communicated to the civil authorities regarding ecclesiastical or religious persons and touching spiritual and disciplinary matters, will

have full and immediate juridical efficiency also as regards all the civil effects in Italy.

Under the Lateran Treaty the new State is allowed to keep armed bodies. After 1870 the Pope, following the disbanding of his army, retained only a bodyguard, which was permitted him under Article 3 of the Law of Guarantees. This service is carried out by four corps organized on a military basis; the Noble Guards, the Swiss Guards, the Palatine Guards, and the Gendarmes.

The Noble Guards are so called because they are chosen from the aristocracy. They are housed in a big building, provided with every comfort and convenience, in the courtyard of the Belvedere. Their commander is a captain chosen by the Pope from among the leading families of the Roman nobility. He is decorated with the Order of Christ, the highest of the honours conferred by the Holy See. The present commander of the Noble Guards is Prince Giuseppe Aldobrandini; and equal in rank to the commander is the Standard-bearer, a post which belongs by right to the heirs of the Patrizi family. In all there are sixty-nine Noble Guards.



By courtesy of *The Times*.

Map of the Boundary of the "Citta del Vaticano."

The continuous line marks the boundary. The space between the continuous line and the dotted line marks the zone over which the Pope did not exercise his sovereignty before the conclusion of the Treaty. The Piazza of St. Peter is under the Pope's sovereignty, but remains open, and is used by the Italian Government.

The service uniform consists of a jacket of dark blue cloth and sky blue trousers with black bands; the gala uniform is a jacket of scarlet cloth with white chamois breeches, patent jack-boots, and helmet adorned with a tuft of horse-hair.

The Swiss Guards, who have been in the service of the Popes since the beginning of 1500, are a very picturesque body. Of their fidelity to the Supreme Pontiff the Swiss gave a memorable proof in the Sack of Rome in 1527 at the time of Clement VII. The mercenary troops under the command of the Constable of Bourbon, after having devastated Rome, attacked the Vatican: the Swiss troops, who numbered 200, heroically defended the entrance, and rather than give ground, all died fighting. In the meantime the Pope with his court had been able to flee to safety through the corridor which joins the Vatican Palace to Castel Sant'Angelo, where he took refuge. Every year on May 6 the Swiss Guards celebrate the anniversary of this glorious feat of arms by solemnly swearing-in new recruits. This ceremony takes place in the courtyard of the Belvedere: the Guards don on this occasion the full-dress uniform of the

period, with the steel breast-plates which belonged to the glorious defenders. A curious note is struck by one of these breast-plates which is exceptionally curved, as it once served for one of those 200 heroes who was hunch-backed!

At present the Swiss Guards number about 90, and the General Staff is composed of the commander and 5 officers. The men are recruited from the various cantons of the Swiss Confederation.

The third Pontifical armed corps is the Palatine Guards of Honour constituted by Pius IX in 1850, to which was assigned the sentry services at ceremonies and in St. Peter's when the Pope was present.

The men are recruited from among the artisans, and more especially from those of the Borgo and Trastevere quarters, and they give their services without pay, receiving only an indemnity at the end of each year. They number about 300, and have an excellent and full band, which, when foreign sovereigns visit the Pope, renders the honours by playing the respective national anthems in the Court of S. Damaso. The commander of the Palatine

Guards has the rank of Colonel and is assisted by 5 officers.

Finally comes the corps of the Pontifical Gendarmes, instituted in 1816 by Pius VII. They first took the name of Pontifical Carabineers, but in 1850 this title was changed to that of Veliti (as the infantry soldiers of the Romans were called), and soon afterwards, in 1852, during the Pontificate of Pius IX, the name of Pontifical Gendarmes was definitely adopted. They are about a hundred strong, and carry out police and watchman duties in the Apostolic Palaces. In all there are 5 officers. They are dressed as in the Napoleonic period. The full-dress uniform is very imposing: high jack-boots, white buckskin breeches, tailed blue jacket, and tall *kolbak*.

To complete the picture that we have given of the constitution and organization of the new Vatican State, a word may be added about the many buildings in and outside Rome that have, in virtue of the Treaty, become the property of the Vatican, and which, although not under the sovereignty of the Pope, nevertheless enjoy exterritorial immunity. Among them are churches, convents, religious institutions, and, outside Rome, the famous palace of Castel Gandolfo,

constructed by Urban VIII in 1629 for the summer residence of the Popes: "Ob cœli solisque salubritatem amenitatemque animo corporique brevi secessu refaciendis" reads the inscription on the building: to restore the mind and the body in a short sojourn by the salubrity and beauty of the sky and sun.

Reflected in the lake below, the Palace—of which Goethe was a great admirer—stands about 1,600 feet above sea-level and is set in a delicious landscape, amid forests of oak, elm, ash, and chestnut trees, little torrents, pastureland, and vineyards!

Now that circumstances make it possible, it is to be presumed that Castel Gandolfo will once again be the summer Vatican of the Popes.

CHAPTER VI

THE PEACE AND ITALY

The Lateran Treaty and the visible sovereignty of the Holy See—The "City of the Vatican" and the League of Nations—The "Roman Question" officially closed—The Concordat—The oath of the Bishops—Religious matrimony—Religious teaching extended to secondary schools—How the peace was received throughout Italy—Cardinals Maffi and Endrici—The Protestant Churches—The Fascists—An Episcopal Letter of Mgr. Cazzani—The future of philosophy in the schools—Misgivings—The peace and the internal political situation—Will Fascism be strengthened or weakened?

THREE documents were signed on February 11 at the Lateran Palace: the Peace Treaty between Italy and the Holy See, a financial Convention, and the Concordat. Reference has been made in the last chapter to the Convention and to that part of the Treaty which refers to the Constitution and organization of the new Papal State. Now an examination must be made of the Treaty and Concordat and the new relations established between the Holy See and the Italian State and between the Catholic Church and the Italian State.

The Lateran Treaty eliminates the historic dissension which existed from 1870 and solves once and for all the so-called Roman Question. It is composed of a preamble and 27 articles.

It having been taken for granted that the two High Contracting Parties have recognized the advantage of putting an end to the existing conflict, the preamble reaffirms the principle made sacrosanct by Article 1 of the Statute of the Kingdom (March 4, 1848) according to which the Roman Apostolic Catholic religion is the sole religion of the State. In practice the various religious confessions had a right to citizenship in Italy, but King Charles Albert, when he decided to grant the Statute to his people in 1848, wished that it should be clearly established in the first article that Roman Catholicism was the State religion in the Kingdom of Sardinia and Piedmont, just as Anglicanism is the State religion in England.

The Treaty next recognizes the full ownership and exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican, as it is at present constituted, and creates to that end the "City of the Vatican," declaring that the Italian Government shall not be

able to intervene in any way in its affairs, and that the only authority therein shall be that of the Holy See.

This is the essential point of the Treaty. Several critics, especially French ones, have observed that the fundamental difference between the Vatican and the Italian Government lay in what the Holy See claimed in the shape of international guarantees, which Italy was not disposed to grant in order not to diminish her absolute sovereignty. But this was not the fundamental point of the controversy. The Law of Guarantees accorded the Supreme Pontiff sovereign honours, but did not effectively recognize the *full ownership* of the Sacred Palaces on the part of the Pope, who had only the *use* and *enjoyment* of them. As there was no full ownership there could, strictly speaking, be no question of Pontifical sovereignty. Now the Temporal Power may vary, as regards its extent, according to the times; what must not be absent—from the point of view of the Church—is the independence of the Sacred Keys—an independence which, according to the Catholics, does not exist or is not visible when the Supreme Head of all the faithful has not a small kingdom, be it only

in miniature, of which he can say he has the exclusive ownership.

Italy also recognizes the right of the Holy See to have a diplomatic service according to the general rules of international law. The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to establish diplomatic relations by accrediting an Italian Ambassador to the Holy See and an Apostolic Nuncio to Italy, who will be the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps according to the customary procedure as recognized by the Congress of Vienna on June 9, 1815.

The Vatican had the right to send and receive Ambassadors even after the breach of Porta Pia, but the fall of the Temporal Power suspended all diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal. Before 1870 diplomatic representation existed between Turin and Rome; after 1870 there might have been informal and extra-official relations between the Government of Rome and the Holy See, but the existence of either a Nunciature, or an Italian Embassy to the Vatican was impossible because of the obstacle of the Roman Question that had been raised by the occupation of Rome by Italian troops.

On the morrow of the Great War, after the renewal of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and France, which took advantage of the position to further her hegemony in Central Europe, the Italian Nationalist Press began to ask why Italy should be the only Power without representation at the Vatican. The reply of the Vatican was that there existed the obstacle of the Roman Question. In his first Encyclical *Ubi Arcano* (December, 1922) Pius XI delicately hinted at this fact.

The obstacle having been removed, the logical consequence is the accrediting of an Italian Ambassador to the Vatican and the appointment of a Pontifical Nuncio to the Quirinal. The Vatican City will, then, have its Nuncio—a few steps away—accredited to the Quirinal and he will automatically have the honour of becoming the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps. This is a recognized right of the Apostolic Nuncio, wherever he may be situated.

Article 8 of the Treaty considers as "sacred and inviolable the person of the Supreme Pontiff, and declares that attempts against him, as well as inducements to commit such attempts, are punishable with the same penalties as are

established for attempts and provocation to commit such attempts against the person of the King. Offences and insults taking place in Italian territory against the person of the Supreme Pontiff by speeches, acts, and writings are punishable as in the case of offences and insults against the person of the King." All the Cardinals (Article 21) will enjoy in Italy the honours due to Princes of the blood royal.

In Article 24 the Holy See—

declares that it wishes to remain, and will remain outside the temporal rivalries between other States and outside international congresses set up with this object, unless the contending parties make common appeal to its mission of peace, while in every case it reserves the right to use its moral and spiritual powers. In consequence of this the territory of the Vatican State will in every case be considered as neutral and inviolable.

Several writers have pretended that this clause has been imposed on the Vatican by the Italian Government, which was always opposed to the participation of the Holy See in international congresses. This, however, is absurd. The very fact that the dissensions between the Vatican

and the Italian Government had been cleared away as a result of the settlement of the Roman Question removed any interest that Italy might have in excluding the Holy See from international conferences. If in 1898 Admiral Canevaro, the then Foreign Minister, asked that the Vatican should not be represented at the Hague Conference, and if Baron Sonnino asked in the Pact of London of April, 1915, for the exclusion of the Pope from the International Peace Conference, this was not due to the old anti-clericalism or to distrust of the Pope, but was simply a precaution against any possible abuse of the Roman Question that might have been attempted by anyone not in the interests of religion but to the damage of Italy.

Once the Roman Question had been settled, this danger no longer existed.

The true explanation is that, having assured his spiritual independence by the creation of the Vatican City, Pius XI considers it convenient to keep himself outside all temporal rivalries and outside the League of Nations, where he would find himself in an uncomfortable position on several questions which are outside his competence and where that place in the very first rank

to which he believes he is entitled would not be assigned him.

Two years ago the Pope made a statement on these lines to an eminent French Jesuit father, Yves de la Brière, who published it in *Etudes*, the well-known review of the Society of Jesus. And in truth the Pope possesses various means of making his voice heard at Geneva when he may judge this to be opportune. In case of need the word which fell from the throne of St. Peter's would have a greater and more distant echo than a speech delivered from the tribune of the Reform Hall.

Any case in which the contending parties may make an appeal to the pacific mission of the Pontiff (as happened in 1886, when Bismarck and the Spanish Government asked Leo XIII to act as arbiter in the question of the Caroline Islands) is excluded.

We come now to the final declaration, contained in Article 26, which says:

The Holy See considers that, with the agreements signed to-day, it possesses the guarantees necessary to provide due liberty and independence to the spiritual government of the diocese of Rome and of the Catholic Church in Italy and the whole world. It declares

The Vatican City from the Air.

the Roman Question definitely and irrevocably settled and, therefore, eliminated, and recognizes the Kingdom of Italy under the Dynasty of the House of Savoy with Rome as the capital of the Italian State. Italy, on her side, recognizes the State of the Vatican City under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff. The Law of Guarantees and any other law or Act contrary to the present Treaty are abrogated.

No one can fail to see the capital importance of this clause. Kalnoky and Bismarck, though they were interested in the participation of Italy in the Triple Alliance, denied to her the guarantee of Rome as the capital, as is proved by the exchange of letters between Leo XIII and Francis Joseph, of which mention was made in Chapter I. Now it is the Pope himself who *openly and solemnly recognizes the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy, with Rome as the capital of the Italian State.* If one remembers for a moment that the Popes, up to some time ago, still claimed Avignon, the importance of the Lateran Treaty, from the point of view of international politics, is immediately self-evident. As the City of the Vatican is in its turn recognized by the Italian State, the Law of Guarantees of May 13, 1871, is rendered

void—that law which, as has been said before, did not recognize the Holy See's absolute ownership of the Sacred Palaces.

Next comes the Concordat. One of the characteristics of the present Pontificate has been that of establishing stable relations with the newly formed States of Europe by means of formal agreements which reorganize ecclesiastical arrangements according to the new distributions of territory. As to the States which were already in existence before the World War, it was decided to strengthen and, if necessary, to revise the agreements already concluded with them, in order to bring them into line with the new needs. Relations with the various States were established on the basis of the rules of the Code of Canon Law by means of reciprocal concessions of the Church to the States and of the States to the Church; and since the Church relies ever more and more—in accordance with the design of Pius XI—on the collaboration of the laity, guided by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, that which is commonly called the "Catholic Action" (*Azione cattolica*) is held to be indispensable to the Church in every country.

It was these ideas which inspired the Holy See in the Conventions drawn up with the new States such as Latvia, Poland, Lithuania, and Czechoslovakia; or with States which had emerged from the War with extended territory, such as Roumania; or with old States to harmonize the old Concordats with the new needs (either completely renewing them, as was the case with Bavaria, or else partially revising them, as with France in the case of the respect to be paid to ecclesiastical processions, and with Portugal and the agreement of April 13, 1928). A Concordat with Prussia is now under discussion.

In the address delivered to the students of the Catholic University of Milan on February 13, Pius XI made a point of explaining the reasons which induced him to negotiate with Italy a Concordat as well as a Treaty. The Concordat was demanded by the Pope as an indispensable condition even before the negotiations for the solution of the Roman Question were opened. "But what would have been the value of such a Treaty," said the Pope, "in a country like Italy, where for so many years there had been appropriations, spoliations, and filchings of every sort practised by Governments, or foes, or

friends of foes, either consciously or unconsciously?" The problem before the Pope was, therefore, in these terms: the prime and absolute necessity of reshaping religious legislation in Italy, in agreement with and with the help of the ecclesiastical authorities who alone are competent in such matters. This agreement and this help would never have been possible, however, until the relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal had been regulated.

Hence the necessity, first of the Treaty and then of the Concordat. The political conflict had brought about a state of things in the religious field which it was necessary to regulate by the Concordat. The essential points of this agreement, which is composed of 45 articles, are the following.

First of all comes a declaration which says that, in consideration of the sacred character of Rome as the episcopal seat of the Successor of Peter and the centre of the Catholic world, the Italian Government will take measures to prevent anything occurring in Rome that might clash with this character. As a logical consequence of this, for example, the exaltation in Rome of men and of principles contrary to

Christianity and to Catholicism must be avoided. A monument to Giordano Bruno or to Luther would no longer be allowed. Perhaps even a philosophic Congress might be prohibited.

Clauses follow dealing with the free exercise of their pastoral ministry by the Bishops and the other clergy in general; the faculty of publishing bulletins and ordinances regarding the spiritual government of the faithful in languages other than Latin or Italian (a faculty which was evidently demanded by the Pope so that publications might be made also in German in the Alto Adige and in the Slav tongues in Julian Venetia); exemption from military service of the clerics ordained *in sacris* and of monks who have taken the vows; exemption of all ecclesiastics from service on juries. Article 5 of the Concordat lays down that no apostate or censured priest may be engaged or remain in a school, office, or post of the Italian State. Up to now many who, in obedience to their conscience, had abjured the Catholic dogma, had found a way of living decorously in the service of the Italian State. They were for the most part persons of great learning: Latinists, jurists, historians, and philosophers. It is easy to recall several famous

cases such as those of Franchi and Trezza, who, having left the Catholic Church for scruples of conscience and abandoned the cloth, had become famous professors in the Italian Universities. Henceforth this will no longer be possible. The possibility for one who abjures the Church of earning his living in Italy in another way will be very remote.

Other articles state that ecclesiastics condemned by military tribunals will, if possible, serve their sentences in quarters separate from those occupied by the laity; that religious buildings open to the public will be exempt from requisition or occupation, and cannot be demolished except with the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities.

The feast days established by the Church are recognized by the State; which means that the Italians will under the Concordat gain, apart from Sundays and the civil feasts, eight more rest days a year!

A revision will be made of the boundaries of the dioceses so as to make them correspond, as far as possible, with those of the provinces of the Kingdom of Italy. Attempts had previously been made, and particularly during the

Pontificate of Pius XI, to carry out this revision as the dioceses are too numerous. By reducing the number of the dioceses, of the Bishops and of the seminaries, the culture and well-being of the clergy would have much to gain; but while the dissension caused by the Roman Question existed between the Church and the State, the reduction of the dioceses was almost impracticable, because it had to be accomplished in full agreement between the two powers, civil and ecclesiastical, which, officially, ignored each other's existence.

It is then stated that the procedure to be followed on the nomination of Archbishops and Bishops is to be in accordance with that laid down in the most recent Concordats drawn up between the Holy See and other States; and that, as in the case of the Concordat with Poland, Bishops on their appointment will in future swear the following oath of fealty to the Italian State between the hands of the Head of the Government:

Before God and His Holy Gospel I swear and promise, as is seemly in a Bishop, fealty to the Italian State. I swear and promise to respect, and to make respected by my clergy, the King and the Govern-

ment established according to the constitutional laws of the State. Further, I swear and promise not to take part in any agreement, nor to be present at any meetings, which may injure the Italian State and public order, and that I will not permit my clergy so to do. Taking heed for the good and interests of the Italian State, I will seek to avoid any harm that may threaten it.

Another clause says that on Sundays and compulsory holidays, in those churches where there is a Chapter, prayers will be said by the officiating priest for the prosperity of the King of Italy and the Italian State.

In this connection it may be remarked that the political conflict had in Italy led to a separation between the Church and State which had occasionally assumed a hostile character. The separation in full liberty, such as exists in the U. S. A., and in Brazil, was unknown in Italy. For this reason the prayers that on certain occasions used to be said for the prosperity of the King and the State had been suppressed. With the ending of the dispute, a return is to be made to the *Oremus: salvum fac Regem.*

The Concordat recognizes the juridical personality of the religious congregations and the

free administrations of Church property. This is a point of the highest importance because, although the religious congregations were not disturbed in Italy, they had no juridical position. If one considers what happens in France, where the Radicals do not wish even to recognize the missionary congregations—which perhaps have a high value from the national point of view—the antithesis could not be more marked.

The article dealing with marriage is particularly significant. In Italy the civil marriage ceremony was compulsory, while the religious one was not. Without the civil ceremony the marriage was not valid under the law; the religious rite had no value in Civil Law. In other words, the religious marriage was contracted solely in homage to the religious principles of the bride and bridegroom. Generally it was the custom to celebrate both the civil and the religious marriage, but many limited themselves to the civil function.

Now, under the Concordat, the State, "wishing to restore dignity to the constitution of matrimony, which is the basis of the family, in agreement with the Catholic tradition of its own people, recognizes matrimony as a Sacra-

ment regulated by Canon Law in its relation to Civil Law."

Everything which refers to the *sacramental contract* becomes the business of the Church. The Commune makes an entry of it in the registers of the Civil State. Consequently everything which refers to cases concerning nullity of marriage, and dissolution of marriages "celebrated but not consummated," is referred to the Ecclesiastical Courts. The Supreme Tribunal of the Segnatura or the Sacred Rota is to say the last word in cases which are disputed.

With regard to cases of personal separation—which leave the marriage bond intact—the Holy See consents to judgment being given by the Italian civil judicial authorities.

Religious instruction was imparted in Italy in the public elementary schools to girls and boys whose parents asked for it. Under the new Concordat religious instruction will be compulsory in both the elementary and secondary schools according to a programme to be established in agreement between the Holy See and the Italian State.

As was to be expected, the Holy See asked for and obtained recognition of the organiza-

tions forming part of the "Italian Catholic Action," which in its turn depends directly on the Holy See.

After the march on Rome the Vatican, not wishing to take part in the political polemic between Fascism and the Italian Popular Party which for several years had been the political expression of Italian Catholicism, concentrated all its hopes on the "Catholic Action" organizations, which had to keep themselves outside and above political controversies. In practice it was impossible to avoid clashes with "totalitarian" Fascism, which, immediately the crucifix had been reintroduced into the schools, claimed to represent also the interests of Catholicism. Some sharp local differences between the Fascist and Catholic organizations did not result in an open rupture, as the Head of the Government and the Vatican succeeded each time in smoothing away the difficulties.

In view of that, the Vatican demanded with the Concordat that the "Catholic Action," which was considered as the "apple of the Pope's eye," might be able to develop its social influence outside and above all political rivalries. The Italian Government, on its part, has secured the

Holy See's acceptance (Article 43) of the renewal of the "prohibition on all ecclesiastics and monks to join and actively participate in any political party whatsoever."

The Concordat authorizes also the use in the Italian Kingdom and Colonies of the Pontifical Orders of Knighthood, and affirms that the Italian State recognizes the noble titles conferred by the Supreme Pontiff.

Mention has been made above only of the most significant provisions of the Treaty and the Concordat—those provisions, that is, which best allow an idea to be formed of the new position which the Church is now to occupy in Italy and of the new obligations that the Italian State has assumed towards it.

What has been said, although not much, will, however, be sufficient to explain the various impressions, judgments, and forecasts which the Conciliation has called forth in Italy.

In the first place, how has the event been received by the clergy and the more fervent Catholics?

On the whole, one may say that its reception has been satisfactory. Special exultation has

The Old Train of Pius IX.

been shown by those who passed through the struggles for and against the reconciliation of thirty or forty years ago; the disciples of the champions of reconciliation—Bonomelli, Tosti, Stoppani; and the Churchmen who were greatly distressed at the difficulty of harmonizing their faith with their patriotism. The aged Senator, the Marchese Carlo Ottavio Cornaggia, made the Biblical motto, *Et nunc dimittis me,* his own. In a letter to Prince Buoncompagni, the father of the Governor of Rome, he wrote: "What has happened now surpasses all our hopes!" The Catholic Ex-Minister Filippo Meda, who came from the Christian Democratic Party, also declared his pleasure at the cessation of the historic controversy.

It seems that—even if it be with certain reservations on the part of some—the Bishops and Cardinals have, on the whole, signified their approval. From the strictly religious point of view—that is, as far as the prospects of reviving and augmenting the influence of Catholicism on the whole of Italian life are concerned—it could hardly have been otherwise.

Among the Cardinals who publicly declare their thoughts must particularly be mentioned

Cardinal Pietro Maffi, one of the leading and most cultured dignitaries of Italy. In the last two Conclaves he was a candidate for the Tiara, having the support of the more liberal faction of the Sacred College. He also wrote a Pastoral Letter in which he extolled the historic event.

The Prince Bishop of Trent, Mgr. Endrici, who during the war had been called the Italian Mercier because of the fortitude with which he had supported imprisonment under the Hapsburg Monarchy in homage to his Italian sentiments, said in an interview that "the agreement honours Italy."

Perhaps the least enthusiastic were the country priests, who in the last few years have witnessed, and sometimes also suffered, the violence of Fascism, and the Catholics of the Italian Popular Party, whose leader, Don Sturzo, is living in exile in London, while several members of the party have had to take refuge abroad, or else are in prison or confined to the convict islands. All these were rather unfavourably impressed, above all by the tremendous propaganda which the Church carried on in connection with the plebiscite of March 24, 1929—transforming into Fascist electoral agents the

very priests who by Article 43 of the Concordat should not belong to any party but keep themselves outside all political struggles. It is not difficult to understand, in short, that all those Catholics who, either for doctrinaire reasons or through political circumstances have not given their support to Fascism, would have preferred to see peace between Italy and the Holy See concluded under another régime. The Vatican's reply to this is that the Pope has succeeded in seizing the fleeting moment of history. Under the Parliamentary and Liberal régimes the country's leaders were either against granting an effective sovereignty to the Pope over even a spadeful of Italian soil, or had not sufficient power to impose their authority.

Another question which has been raised—especially in foreign countries—concerns the position in which the Protestant Churches in Italy will find themselves under the Concordat; although only a very small number of Italian citizens belong to these Churches.

The most important Protestant nucleus has its headquarters in Piedmont, and is formed by the Waldensian Evangelical Church. This is the oldest of the Reformed Churches existing to-

day, but nevertheless is governed by a recent Constitution drawn up at Torre Pellice in 1924. According to this Constitution the Waldensian Church is composed of persons who make application to belong to it, who profess, and live according to, its principles, and who contribute toward its needs. It is administered by a Synod, a legislative assembly which meets every year at Torre Pellice, and by a Board elected by the Synod and having representative and administrative authority. Five "district conferences" depend on these central bodies, and are destined to gather in the members of the Waldensian cult in the Valdesi valleys, Northern Italy, Central Italy, Apulia and Sardinia, Southern Italy and Sicily, and finally in South America.

Then there are in Italy other minor Protestant Churches which are divided into Italian Evangelical Churches dependent on foreign committees—such as the Wesleyan Methodist, the Episcopal Methodist, the Baptists of the Anglo-Italian branch, the Baptists of the Italo-American branch, and so on—and foreign Evangelical Churches some of which use the French language, and finally the Lutheran Churches which use the German language.

All these Churches were not subject to special legislative rules before the Concordat, nor will the agreement affect them in any way. They will preserve their freedom as hitherto. Perhaps the only article which might touch them is the one regarding the prohibition in Rome of every manifestation which might displease the Holy Father. Certain Protestant propaganda may eventually have to be discontinued in Rome.

In the Fascist camp enthusiastic praise was lavished on the Duce, who had succeeded in realizing what no other Minister had been able to bring to a conclusion. "The bells," wrote Arnaldo Mussolini, brother of the Duce, in the *Popolo d'Italia* of February 13, "have summoned to the market-places, to the humble churches of the countryside, the whole of the people who have gathered there consciously, instinctively aware of the event they are celebrating. This is a glory of the Church which, without taking account of contingent circumstances, gathers to herself the sons of Italy in accordance with the fundamental doctrine of the Gospel; this is a glory too of Fascism, and particularly of Benito Mussolini, who has succeeded in cleansing

Italian spiritual life of the dregs of the old partisan hatreds so as to make possible an agreement which both in the eyes of Italians and foreigners represents a great success for Italy."

The lesser Fascist newspapers were possibly even still more enthusiastic in their praises. Senator Giovanni Gentile, who, as we have seen, had in the autumn of 1927 taken up a contrary position in the *Corriere della Sera,* now after the Lateran Treaty declared his adhesion to its principles. A writer in *Roma Fascista,* after having emphasized the unanimity (apparent at least) of the praise for the peace that had been concluded, added in melancholy strain: "Just as we had the 'last minute' Fascists, so we now have the Catholics of the Concordat. A man who to-day would admit he once had been anti-clerical or, perhaps, a Freemason is as rare as the dodo."

A similarly clear and open declaration has, naturally, not been made by anyone; but it is an open secret that the Fascists who came from Freemasonry and Socialism have not shown themselves very enthusiastic over the Reconciliation.

The Bishop of Cremona, Mgr. Giovanni Cazzani, did not hesitate to write in a Pastoral Let-

ter to his clergy and people: "Not all Italians, and not even all those who fight under the banner of the Head of the Government, have the high, open, and liberal mind of their Duce. There are not a few, unfortunately, even among our own fellow-citizens, who, because of bonds with Churches separated from Rome or because of prejudices of sect, schools, or anti-Christian parties, cannot recognize and appreciate the benefits of a Treaty and a Concordat which seem to them a threatening sign of reaction against the conquests of thought and human civilization, while, instead, it is a magnificent leap forward along the path of the truest Christian civilization and of the most certain peace. And, perhaps—why should we not say it?—there are to be found even among Catholics (I think they must be very few) those who, because of political antipathies or as a result of their habit of exaggerated intransigence, feel uneasy and distrustful as to the outcome and the benefits of the peace that has been concluded."

The "threatening sign of reaction against the conquests of thought" hinted at by Mgr. Cazzani has been, and is, the cause of a certain in-

quietude among a part of the Italian people—especially among that Liberal part which, no longer having newspapers nor freedom of association and meeting, nor representatives in Parliament or in the Communes, is without any means of making known its feelings. Many who, for patriotic reasons, have looked with a favourable eye on the Reconciliation because, so long as the Roman Question remained open, dangers were always to be feared for Italy, would have preferred to see the Reconciliation reached without the Concordat, or at least with fewer concessions than those which the Fascist State has granted to the Church. These critics say that Mussolini has given too much away: money, fiscal exemptions (which represent a substantial sum lost by the Italian Treasury each year), religious marriage, religious education, privileges to the ecclesiastics, privileges to their associations, and so on. There are now those in Italy who, with a certain anxiety, rightly or wrongly talk of a confessional State with all that this may signify: an excessive preponderance of the priests in the schools, in the family, and in the cultural, social, and political life of the country.

Professor Luigi Credaro, Liberal Ex-Minister of Education, in an article published in the *Rivista Pedagogica,* says that the question of Catholic teaching in the secondary schools is of fundamental importance, as it concerns the method by which the mentality and the feelings of the future generations of Italy will be formed. Religious teaching must be harmonized with all the other subjects of the programme, and especially with philosophy.

Now [he asks] will philosophy have to be retained or abolished? In the French *lycées,* as is well known, philosophy but not religion is taught; in those of Germany the reverse is the case. And if in Italy philosophy is retained together with religion, what sort of philosophy will it be in order to harmonize with the teachings of religion? Will it be possible to maintain unchanged the present idealistic and, therefore, anti-Catholic trend to which, as a result of the Fascist reform of 1923, the secondary school professors, abandoning the preceding trend which was predominantly Kantian or positivist, have, in general, been conforming? Or will philosophic teaching have to turn towards Thomism, which is the only philosophy recognized by the Catholic Church from 1879 onwards, that is, by the Encyclical *Æterni Patris* of Leo XIII? It is known that the Catholic Church considers as an aberration of the human mind the

whole of modern philosophy, from Descartes onwards, that is, from the most celebrated anti-Thomist that Europe has seen; and it is likewise known that modern philosophy, now taught in Italy from nearly all the university chairs and forming part of the Fascist programmes of the secondary schools, judges Thomism, that is, the philosophy of the Catholic Church, to be completely out of date.

It is interesting to note that the same uneasiness regarding the liberty of thought has been expressed by Fascists such as Professor G. Volpe, Secretary to the Italian Academy. He recognizes that the Concordat threatens to bring once more under discussion certain truths which have now been attained by the modern spirit, and he hopes that the teaching of religion in the schools will not be "dogmatic and irreconcilable with the other teachings." He recommends the Government to watch and see that the Church does not domineer in the schools and, in general, in the world of thought, and that it may be lawful to think "in a different way from the philosophy of the Church."

As to the consequences of the Reconciliation in regard to the internal political situation of Italy, opinions are equally divided.

Swiss Guards on Duty at the Entrance to the Vatican.

Some believe that, in addition to the immediate and evident advantages that the Reconciliation has brought it in connection with the plebiscite, Fascism will also, as time goes on, be notably strengthened by the agreement. Up to yesterday the new régime created by Mussolini in Italy was not very reassuring to the middle classes. The financial, industrial, and agricultural classes gave it their support because in a certain sense it favoured their interests by keeping in order the workmen and peasants, and because—independently of all this—there was no possible alternative. But the régime could not leave them altogether easy in mind because it always contained too many revolutionary elements and because, by means of the system of corporations or unions, it imposed upon them not a few limitations and restrictions. For these reasons these classes had in the last two or three years sought to eliminate the revolutionary elements, to render innocuous, where this affected their interests, the corporative system, and to draw to their side Mussolini, who seemed to have gone too far to the left. Whether they have succeeded or not it is not easy to say with certainty, because Mussolini is something of an un-

known quantity and a man who may always have some surprises in store. But appearances may lead one to believe so, and in any case the Reconciliation with the Church is a fact which goes to confirm this belief. A régime which leans on the Throne on one side and on the Altar on the other should no longer give rise to any misgivings on the part of the rich and conservative classes.

But there are others who are of the opposite opinion and who think that, apart from any immediate effect, the Reconciliation will end by eventually weakening Fascism. These point to the fundamental reasons for dispute which exist between Fascists and Catholics. It is inconceivable that the Church should come to identify itself with Fascism, because the Church is too prudent to compromise itself and has too much experience to cherish any illusions as to the duration of any form whatsoever of political régime. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that the mass of the clergy and the Catholics who have now accepted the Fascist State should tolerate the "totalitarian" policy of Fascism. Hence, it is said, one of two things must happen: either Fascism or else the new mass that has

entered it, proving to be impossible of assimilation, will, instead of becoming an element of strength, end by becoming an element of weakness and disintegration. In other words, the story of the horse of Troy would again repeat itself.

CHAPTER VII

THE PEACE AND THE WORLD

Catholic rejoicing throughout the world—Liberation from an incubus—King Alfonso, the "Italianization of the Catholic Church" and an episode of his visit to Rome—The Austrian Catholics and the German Centre—The Marchese de Azevedo and the "common hearth" of the Catholics—The disappointment of French Nationalism—"Cartellist" criticism—How the event was received in Germany and England—Misgivings of a Protestant professor—An important article in the *Church Times*—The point of view of the Vatican—An old declaration of Baron Sonnino—The universalization of the Roman Church and the possibility of a future foreign Pope.

ALL those who came into contact with Pius XI, on the morrow of the signing of the Lateran Treaty, were unanimous in declaring that they found him radiant with joy. Some time before the signature, indeed, he had hesitated for a moment, and the words "Our successor will do it" are said to have fallen from his lips. Then he changed his mind, after having prayed for guidance from on high. Once he had crossed the Rubicon, all his thoughts

were directed to the application of the agreements. And when congratulations began to reach him from all the corners of the earth, all his doubts disappeared. These, as is known, are the words which in this connection he addressed to a representative of the United Press:

It is consoling [he said] to see the cordial and sincere reception that the whole world has given to the events of the last few days. We have received a veritable avalanche of messages from countries both far and near, from Europe to North America, from South America to Australia and New Zealand. All these messages show that the world has appreciated at its true value the significance of the event and has rejoiced with us. Throughout the world the churches have been crowded with faithful desirous of thanking Almighty God for the tangible protection accorded to His Church. That these events have taken place at such a vast distance from these faithful has in no wise diminished their fervour. They have celebrated the Reconciliation just as if it were something joyful that had happened in their own countries.

This chorus of congratulations on the part of Catholics spread over every part of the globe is easily explained when the structure of the Roman Catholic Church is taken into account.

The Pope is not only the Primate of Italy but is also the Supreme Head of Catholicism throughout the world. For those who believe in his word he is a Sovereign of whom it cannot be said that he is a "foreigner" in any country whatsoever. Where groups of Catholic citizens exist, he is in a certain way incorporated with them.

The Pope [said M. Briand in 1906 in the course of a speech during the discussions on the separation of the Church from the State in France] is a great moral authority. For French Catholics he is a Catholic and French Head: he is German for German Catholics and Austrian for Austrian Catholics. When I consider him in his relations with France I identify him with the mass of the French Catholics; I do not separate him, I incorporate him with you and in you.

When, therefore, the Supreme Hierarch of the Catholic Church solemnly declared that the dissension, which had lasted for fifty-eight years between Italy and the Vatican, had ended, and that the conditions offered were acceptable to him as the Supreme Head of Catholicism in the world, it was evident that Catholics in all the various continents should rejoice and congratulate their common Father. M. de Reynold, a

professor at the University of Berne, and President of the *Union Catholique d'Etudes Internationales,* has thus explained the reason for the great welcome given by Catholics to the announcement of the Reconciliation reached between the Vatican and the Quirinal. "Outside Italy," he said, "the Catholic of average culture was generally unacquainted with the history of the Italian Risorgimento, or, if he knew it, he deplored the fact that no way had been found of reconciling the unity and the freedom of Italy with the Independence of the Papacy. The repeated protests of the various Pontiffs, from Pius IX to Pius XI, only recalled a painful state of things, and this was particularly the case if the Catholic of average culture had feelings of sympathy for Italy. Hence there was a natural desire that the historic conflict between Italy and the Holy See should once and for all be settled for a number of reasons, not the least of which was that such settlement would represent a serious contribution to the pacification of Europe."

When at the beginning of the century Mgr. John Ireland, the Archbishop of St. Paul, Minnesota, visited Italy, he used to meet Mgr. Gere-

mia Vonomelli, Bishop of Cremona, who was known for his deep culture and his frankly conciliatory tendencies. The visits brought down upon the Archbishop bitter criticisms from the intransigent elements; and if a prelate of the worth of Mgr. Ireland was deprived of the purple that he would have honoured the reasons must be sought particularly in the fact that his Italian friendships were seen in a rather unfavourable light on the other side of the Bronze Door.

Leo XIII, who appreciated highly his gifts of mind and heart, one day entrusted to him two missions. The first was to proclaim in some speeches to be delivered at Paris that the Republic was not a synonym for anti-Catholicism: for was not Catholicism prospering in the United States of America in an atmosphere of freedom and democracy? The second was to remind the Catholics of North America that the situation of the Pope at Rome continued to be abnormal.

Mgr. Ireland accepted the twofold mission; but, while he was happy at being called upon to say at Paris what he himself thought as to the Church and freedom, it distressed him somewhat to have to fulfill his mission in America regard-

ing the relations between the Quirinal and the Vatican, a mission which weakened the sympathies that the partisans of Reconciliation felt for him, without increasing those of the intransigent elements who were distrustful of the currents of opinion which passed under the name of "religious Americanism."

What happened in the case of Mgr. Ireland was repeated with many other prelates and eminent Catholic laymen. This is why the solution of the Roman Question was greeted with warm sympathy, generally speaking, by the foreign Catholics: they were freed of an incubus. Their spiritual Head had proclaimed the end of an historic controversy.

Among the Sovereigns who sent their congratulations to the Pope, first and foremost came King Albert of Belgium and King Alfonso XIII. The King of Spain was thought to be unfavourable to what was defined in certain French circles as "the Italianization of the Catholic Church." Immediately after the World War the watchword had been given out: "The Universal Church must be de-Italianized." Victor Bucaille, Ex-President of the "French Young

Catholics," wrote in the *Revue des Jeunes* (July 21, 1921): "For centuries the Papacy has been given to an Italian priest. Italian prelates form three-quarters of the Roman Curia. The Apostolic Nunciatures, the chief posts in the Roman Congregations, the offices of the Secretary of State's department, and almost all the posts in the Vatican are filled by priests born and bred in Italy." While a conflict existed between Italy and the Papacy, this state of things might continue; but not to-day. M. Charles Loiseau, who had informally—not officially—represented the Government of M. Viviani at the Vatican during the war, published a book, *Politique Romaine et Sentiments Français,* in which he supported the view that the Roman Question no longer existed in its old form, but that this fact would give rise to a *nouvelle question romaine,* in the sense that the supra-nationalism of the Church ought not to be interpreted exclusively, or almost exclusively, by a single nationality—the Italian.

The opening of a new phase in the political and social life of Europe [he wrote], an increased flow from the Slav world towards Catholicism, some new shifting of power in Italy, a surprise, a mere incident,

may recall attention to Rome and fix it for an instant on the fact that the supra-nationalism of the Church is interpreted, or practically so, by a single nationality.

When Alfonso XIII was able to visit Rome (Benedict XV having removed the veto on Catholic princes visiting the capital of Italy), he delivered before Pius XI a speech in which he claimed the Red Hat for two prelates of Latin America. In his reply the Pope made no reference to this point, but in the consistory which was held a few months later he raised to the purple two prelates of the United States of America, the Archbishops of Chicago and New York. Great stress was laid on this fact at the time, and the Catholic Press of Rome stated that the Pope was quite aware of the changes that had taken place in the Catholic world, and that he did not need the advice of others in recognizing the high place that the Catholic Church of the U. S. A. deserved in the bosom of the Universal Church. The Spanish King was not satisfied, as can be imagined, and he made the Papal Nuncio at Madrid understand this. In view of these events his warm and enthusiastic telegram to the Pope on the occasion of the

Lateran Treaty assumes a particular importance.

Telegrams were also received from the Ex-Empress Zita, the Duchess of Madrid, the Duchess of Parma, the Duchess of Norfolk, President Cosgrave in the name of the Irish Free State, the President of the German Reich, Field-Marshal Von Hindenburg, the German Chancellor, Dr. Müller, Sir Austen Chamberlain, M. Briand, and the President of the Bavarian Ministry. For several days the *Osservatore Romano* printed long lists of names of official personages who had felicitated the Holy See on the Reconciliation.

The Catholics of Vienna, under the direction of Cardinal Piffl, forwarded to the Pope the expression of their reverent and devoted homage. They also expressed the hope that the German clergy of the Alto Adige and the Slovene clergy of Julian Venetia might now be permitted to use their respective mother-tongues in the work of their parochial ministries. It is known that the Catholics of Germany some time ago promoted a great movement of protest against the Fascist Government of Rome, which was accused of refusing to recognize the right to make use of the mother-tongue in Church. They turned to the Pope, asking for his intervention

to protect this right. The Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna, Mgr. Piffl, who was received in audience by Pius XI, on March 22, 1928, echoed the sentiments of the German Catholics. The Pope on that occasion expressed his deep regret that the Austrian and German Catholics should for one moment have believed that he had not taken their part in the defence of a right which was so sacrosanct. Cardinal Piffl made public reference to his colloquy with the Pope, which made a great impression.

The German Centre, which is the political expression of German Catholicism, also hastened to congratulate the Pope on the agreement reached. At every Catholic Congress in Germany it had from 1870 onwards been the practice to make a reference to the Roman Question and to the abnormal position of the Holy See. In the last few years preceding the Great War, the formula referring to the Temporal Power had been modified and replaced by another formula which spoke of spiritual independence for the Holy See. During the war, instead, the newspapers of the Centre, like those, for that matter, of all the other parties, insistently and energetically seized on the question of Temporal

Power, hoping to provoke a clash between the Vatican and Quirinal. It is now announced that in future German Centre Party Congresses the question of the independence of the Holy Keys will, following the conclusion of the Lateran Treaty, no longer figure on the agenda.

In Belgium, too, the democratic section of the Catholic Party held an important meeting at which several Ex-Ministers were present. Speeches full of admiration and homage to the Pope as well as to the King of Italy and Benito Mussolini were made in the presence of the Apostolic Nuncio, Mgr. Micara.

On March 9 the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See, the Marchese De Azevedo, Ambassador of Brazil, congratulated the Pope on the Conciliation in the name of his colleagues. Referring to the small kingdom in miniature of the "City of the Vatican," he said:

> We consider this minimum portion of territory with which your Holiness has contented himself as the common hearth around which Catholics will always feel themselves at home, since it is the House of the Universal Father, whose solicitude and tenderness rise beyond the frontiers and contemplate

earnestly and impartially the spiritual needs and the just aspirations of the peoples.

No voice of a Cardinal, or a Bishop, or even that of an eminent foreign Catholic has, then, been raised against the Lateran Treaty. When, sixty years ago, it was a question of proclaiming in the Vatican Council the "Pontifical infallibility," the opponents among the clergy, in the episcopate, and in the ranks of the Catholic laity, were numerous in France, Germany, England, and America. The definition was considered inopportune. To-day there have been no dissidents among the Catholics, at least publicly. Here and there a French Cardinal, questioned privately previous to the signature of the Lateran Treaty, respectfully expressed his surprise that the Pope, who so energetically condemned the Nationalism of Charles Maurras and of the *Action Française,* should make agreements with the Government of Mussolini, whose ideology does not differ from that of French Nationalism. But once the agreements were an accomplished fact, no dignitary of the French Church, and no eminent Catholic layman, took up a contrary position.

The violent opposition was to come from other sources, from Nationalism, and from Socialist Radicalism, particularly in France.

M. René Pinon, writing in the *Revue des deux Mondes* of February 1, that is to say, ten days before the signature of the Treaty, after having recalled the *entretiens mystérieux* of Francesco Saverio Nitti with Cardinal Gasparri, said: "The super-national power of the Holy See has need of an international guarantee because it is evident that the Vatican, even when enlarged by a park or a villa, is not out of reach of an abuse of power on the part of the Great Power by whose State its narrow domain is encircled." He added that, after Gioberti and the Risorgimento, the idea of making the Papacy an instrument to promote the greatness of Italy has survived in the conceptions of Italian Nationalism. And he concluded by saying that "The result of the Reconciliation will be to incline the Papacy to strengthen the super-national character of its spiritual government and to choose from among the whole Catholic world those who are to surround it."

These words of Pinon, like those of other emi-

A View of Castelgandolfo.

nent writers who commented on the peace between the Vatican and Italy, betrayed French Nationalist preoccupation.

Up to a few years ago France willingly identified herself with the influence of Catholicism in the East and Far East. One commonly hears expressions such as this: Just as England represents Protestantism and Russia stands for orthodoxy, so France represents Catholicism in the world. The collapse of the Catholic protectorate in the East would, according to F. Brunetière, have been for France an Oriental Sedan. Now the *Action Française* insinuated that the French missions were the price of the Reconciliation between Italy and the Vatican. The *Osservatore Romano* (February 18) hastened to make a categorical denial of the insinuation of the French Nationalist organ. But this in no wise diminished the disappointment of French Nationalism. Several writers affirmed that the Vatican would become simply an Italian and Fascist organ of propaganda. Maurras himself, after having expressed the opinion that the Pope had contented himself with a "phantom State," wrote: "We fear that, in preferring the method of Napoleon to that of Pepin, the Italian dicta-

tor has not acted in accordance with his own essential rule, which is to make an exact estimate of the exigencies of the future." Another eminent writer, Maurice Pernot, went even further, and affirmed that the Pope, as head of the Universal Church, had made concessions to Italy in exchange for compensations which he obtained only as head of the Italian Church.

In a word, the French Nationalists almost deplored the fact that France had not continued to support *à outrance* the old pretensions of the Vatican against Italy. The Pope, it was said, ought to have claimed the Temporal Power in its old historical form. It was necessary to return to the method of Pepin and Charlemagne!

No less lively, for other reasons, were the criticisms of the "Cartellist" camp. A Radical newspaper wrote: "The castor-oil has received the benediction." All were agreed that "the Vatican has identified itself with Fascism." Others repeated the old formula: "Catholicism and Democracy are antithetic terms." It must be noted that these comments on the peace concluded between the Vatican and Italy coincided with the campaign that the "Cartel" was carrying on to bring about the fall of the Poincaré-

Briand Cabinet over the question of the Secular laws and the missionary congregations. The Lateran Treaty offered an excellent fighting plank against the Papacy "allied with Fascism."

These attacks were answered in France itself by the Catholic Press and particularly by the *Correspondant:*

One of the great lessons of history [said an editorial article in the noted review] is the way in which the Church perpetually adapts itself to political facts as soon as these seem strong enough to stand for a time. The Papacy always masters the times, and works at piecing together what men have been tearing apart. It does not ask them where they come from, but whither they are going. . . . All that it owed to Charlemagne did not hinder it from giving its investiture to the first Capets. And, to confine ourselves to more recent history, the Papacy, in order to bring peace in the minds of the Catholics, made a great sacrifice in the case of Bonaparte and crowned in Notre Dame the *parvenu* of genius who had taken the place of the first most Christian kings.

M. Luigi Rolland, Professor of Law at the University of Paris, also wrote in the *Jeune République* (February 22):

When I hear talk of the dangers of a sort of alliance or of a close friendship between Italy and the

Holy See, I cannot help thinking of the criticisms directed against Benedict XV during the Great War. In Germany he was reproached for supporting France and in France for being favourable to the Germans. In reality he meant to be solely the common father of all the faithful, the defender of justice, the promoter of reconciliation. The truth is that the Papacy does not subordinate itself to a State just as it does not subordinate itself to a party.

In other words, according to these defenders the Papacy, enjoying a sort of eternity, considers the governments and the régimes as so many ships that pass in the night, with which it makes agreements without contracting indissoluble alliances with any of them. World Catholicism is a gigantic machine which adapts itself to the different régimes in the different climes: it finds itself at home in the United States of America in a régime of freedom and democracy; it does not feel itself bound to Carlism in Spain under the monarchy of Alfonso XIII; it asks the French Republic for the *ralliement* just as it has sought—and with what result we shall see—to establish agreements with the Fascist Italy of Benito Mussolini. Were it otherwise—observe the defenders of the Vatican—a more than mil-

lennial institution like the Papacy could not survive amid the vicissitudes of the various régimes which come and go.

While in France, for historical reasons, on the Right as well as on the Left, the most lively opposition made itself apparent, in the German and Anglo-Saxon world the Lateran agreements were considered in a more objective light.

In Germany a part of the German Popular Party, followers of Stresemann and unfavourable to the drawing up of a Concordat between Prussia and the Holy See, made a noisy demonstration of hostility, and, seizing on the Lateran Treaty as a pretext, wanted to take the question of the Prussian Concordat from the Landtag to the Reichstag.

In England several notable comments were made. The Rev. H. Maurice Relton, Professor of Anglican Dogmatic Theology in the University of London, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph* (February 13) echoed the opinions of a certain Protestant section. He noted that—

if the *quæstio vexata* in Italy is solved by making the Pope a subject of no State, and conceding the claim

to temporal power in Roman Catholic Italy, the Roman Question becomes at once a burning issue in Protestant Europe and in international politics. Italy may, indeed, come to have no fear from the Holy See, but the banishing of such a local fear creates the possibility of a larger fear for the world outside. It involves the introduction afresh of that complication between religion and politics in the sphere of international relationships of which history has some salutary lessons to teach us.

The Concordat, again, is of vital importance to all non-Papal Catholics, Eastern and Western, and to all members of the separated religious bodies. No Reformed Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, can regard the creation of a Papal State without grave misgivings, particularly with reference to a world peace among the Churches. A Papal State involving the principle of temporal power, which would seem to violate the New Testament conception of the Church as in its essence a spiritual institution, constitutes a permanent stumbling-block to any possible reunion of Christendom.

Clearly, then [Professor Relton added], the Concordat registers a new fact of the highest importance for the whole world, and demands the careful attention of all thoughtful people. If liberty of relations with foreign Powers is now conceded to the Italian Papacy, the whole status of the Roman Catholic religion in the eyes of the world is altered and the

Papacy becomes once more a factor of the greatest potency in European and world politics.

The question was dealt with from a wider, deeper, and more interesting point of view by the *Church Times* (February 22) in an editorial article which created a deep impression in political and religious circles.

The writer says that the restoration of the Papal monarchy must cause surprise and anxiety for every thoughtful English Churchman. The restoration is an indisputable triumph for the Papacy. The new State is exceedingly small, but the Pope has wisely surrendered all claim to a dominion which nowadays would have been useless. As a price of the renunciation he has obtained "a control over the social and educational life of Italy which many of his predecessors might have envied." The Concordat, according to the journal, gives rise to grave misgivings.

Certainly [it says] on the two questions on which Liberalism, in all countries, has felt most keenly—marriage and education—the Pope's writ to-day runs through the Italian Peninsula. The State has de-

clared marriage a sacrament. The control of the clergy over the marriage law is restored. Divorce has never been legal in Italy. In future a dissolution of the marriage tie by a nullity decree will be impossible without the sanction of a Church court. Education must in the future be on religious lines. Every school will teach the Catholic religion in a manner to be arranged between Church and State. Before the signing of the Concordat, the Italian State was secular; now it is bound to the Roman Church as no other State in Europe is bound. Political Liberalism is not only defied in Italy; it is brushed aside into the lumber room with other "ugly fetishes"—these are the Pope's own words—of the past. If there is to-day in Italy a free Church, there is certainly no longer a free State. It may be too much to say that the medieval relations between Church and State have been re-established in the Italian Peninsula. At least, the dreams of the Jesuits of the counter-Reformation have been realized. Church and State in Italy are not one; but the State is bound to the Church, and in great spheres of legal administration the Church is sovereign.

To the ordinary Englishman—we might almost say, to the ordinary European—the fact that the Church of Rome has won its way back to such a position of supremacy in any European country seems little short of a miracle.

Perhaps the picture drawn by the journal is

a little highly coloured. Later on it will be possible to see things in a more objective light. It is, however, an incontestable fact that liberty has for the moment been exiled from the peninsula, and that the very liberty of the Church itself is, with the oaths of the Bishops, somewhat fettered. Did not the Secretary of the Fascist Party, Signor Augusto Turati, declare soon after the signing of the Lateran Treaty that the Fascist State *must be worshipped kneeling*?

The *Church Times* would have preferred a movement towards separation as in the United States of America and in Australia, where "a civilization had grown up which made the State purely secular, but which at least seemed less inclined to religious persecution than the Europe of M. Combes." Certainly one cannot help recalling, in contrast with the event of February 11, 1929, the enthusiasm of Mgr. Ireland, who twenty years ago extolled the separation of the Church from the State and exalted the American Constitution. "Congress," he said, "will not make laws to impede the free exercise of religion." He proclaimed of "inestimable value" the liberty which the Church enjoyed under the Constitution of the American Republic.

Here no tyrant enchains it. There is no Concordat which restricts its action or restrains its energies. It is as free as the eagle on the peaks of the Alps, free to spread its wings without fear of anything coming to hinder its flight, free to soar towards the highest summits, to set to work all its native energies. . . . If the Catholics do not achieve great things in America, the fault is theirs and not the Republic's.

It is known that the thoughts of Mgr. Ireland were equally shared by Cardinal Gibbons, Mgr. Keane, Mgr. Spalding, and other American prelates. In Europe, too, the idea of separation seemed to have made ever-increasing progress as the one which, at bottom, offers the greatest and most effective guarantee for the Church. "If in 1914," the *Church Times* observes—

the connection of Church and State seemed to be doomed, in 1919 it seemed to have been destroyed. The Evangelical Church had fallen in Germany. The Roman Catholic establishment had perished in a large portion of the old Austrian dominions. The two European monarchies of Russia and Austria, which had stood as symbols of Greek and Latin Christianity, had passed away. The Russian Tsar, who claimed the Crown of Justinian, had been murdered. The Emperor of Austria, who boasted the heirship of Charlemagne, was an exile. Bolshevism, the enemy of all

faith and order, had mastered Russia and was threatening Central Europe and Italy.

Then the unexpected happened. Liberalism and Bolshevism collapsed like a house of cards before triumphant Fascism and Mussolini became the master of Italy.

And now [continues the journal] a stranger thing has still startled the world. The syndicalist blacksmith, the soldier Nationalist, has appeared as the new Charlemagne. He has set the clock of time backwards, and over the ruins of the Liberalism and the Socialism that he has destroyed he has set up the keys of Peter. The Pope himself has recognized that only Mussolini could have done the deed.

Finally, after having recalled the story of what the Catholic Church suffered in the past from the Governments in various European countries, the *Church Times* concludes its important article as follows:

With these warnings before it, we cannot help wondering why the Papacy has run the risk of again placing Italian Catholicism in a position where it must be exposed to all the perils and temptations that assail the religion that enjoys the patronage of despotic power. Might it not, we ask, have been wiser

to have asked only for full toleration for the Faith and to have refused for it the offer of supremacy? It is, no doubt, a captivating idea that practically every child in Italy will be taught the Catholic Faith; but is it quite in accord with the spirit of our Saviour that the police should drive the children of unbelievers to compulsory Catechism? Were we certain that the Fascist régime and the Concordat were destined to endure for centuries, these fears would still trouble us. But we can see worse possibilities. Mussolini may fall, and Liberalism or Socialism may return; and if either should come back to power in Italy, how would the Church then fare? If Catholics asked for toleration, they would be asked what toleration did they give in their hour of triumph.

Again, we cannot forget that modern Nationalism is the enemy of Catholicism. His Holiness so proclaimed it when he condemned the *Action Française*. But how does the Nationalism of Signor Mussolini differ philosophically from the Nationalism of M. Maurras? Is M. Maurras's real fault that he has as yet failed to create a Nationalist monarchy or dictatorship? At least, the alliance between Pius XI and the Duce of Fascism suggests anxious thoughts. We cannot help wondering whether the Vatican has not too lightly turned its back on the ideal of the free Church in the free State. The acceptance of that principle by the Pope at a time when political power was offered to him might have taught to bitter spirits

in Continental Liberalism that they need no longer fear the Church, and might, in the end, have reconciled them to the Faith. The Pope has decided that, in Italy at least, the war against Liberalism, political as well as religious, must continue. We allow that Italian Liberalism has treated the Church brutally in the past; we admit that it has no moral claim on Catholic forbearance. And yet we should feel happier if Pius XI had done something to reconcile it to the Church.

The truth is there are many in Italy who would, were they allowed to do so, openly subscribe to these gloomy reflections. There is reason to believe that even in the Vatican—in the Secretary of State's office itself—there are prelates who would have preferred not to conclude the Treaty in the conditions in which the Italian people are at present living. Why then, it is asked, has Pius XI taken the step? The explanation generally given is that the present Pope—whose political origins are those of the ultra-Conservative Lombardines—has been unable to resist the idea of putting an end to the dissension between Church and State in Italy and of realizing the Reconciliation that was so ardently desired in his youth. According to

Pius XI, it was a question of seizing an opportunity which, perhaps, would never have presented itself again: *carpe diem!* Besides, those who are entitled to interpret the views of the Vatican repeat that the Holy See treats with the Governments and with the régimes as if they were transient things, ships that pass in the night, without binding itself to any of them. With Cavour the Vatican would have negotiated on the basis of the separation with liberty. With Mussolini, once the decision whether or not to treat had been taken, there could only result the Concordat and . . . what a Concordat!

It must not be believed that inside the Vatican the higher personages consider themselves triumphant. They are aware of all the obstacles that must be overcome. They hear the echoes of the threats of the exiles who foresee the revival of anti-clericalism on the day when they will be able to return to Italy. They feel that the identification of the "Catholic Action" and a part of the episcopate with the present régime has its risks. Besides, the Pope, in three consistorial allocutions, has not concealed his anxiety as regards the fundamental doctrine of Fas-

cism, particularly in so far as the divinization of the State is concerned.

As to the contradiction existing between the Church's understanding with Fascism and her condemnation of the *Action Française,* some observe that if the men of the *Action Française* were in power, things would have gone differently. The Vatican takes into account facts and forces. The *Action Française,* after twenty years of propaganda, has been only a seed-plot of ideas. From the political and parliamentary points of view, it does not count; and since it tended to merge itself into the Catholic forces in a country where the Republican roots are soundly planted, Pius XI, with his realistic sense, has, by his condemnation, severed the responsibilities of French Catholicism from the responsibilities of the anti-democratic paganism of Maurras.

It will now be necessary to wait and see the developments of the Lateran agreements in Italy under the present régime, which, by the way, is susceptible of evolutions.

Mr. H. Wickham Steed, in his book *Through Thirty Years,* recalls a visit made to Rome in

December, 1898, by a prominent English Catholic, Mr. Wilfrid Ward, a nephew, by marriage, of the Duke of Norfolk. He had conversations with various Italian statesmen and various Churchmen, as the object of his visit was to investigate the position of things with regard to the Roman Question. Among others, he saw Baron Sonnino, who made to him the following statement on the subject.

You think that the Pope and the Vatican are really as anxious as they seem to get back the Temporal Power, and that, until they get it, the Roman Question cannot be solved. Of course there are people who have that idea, but they are not really influential. Sometimes, when the Cardinals are excited, they talk like that; but, in their heart of hearts, they know, as we know, that the Roman Question was settled when the Italian troops entered Rome in 1870. But it is not in their interest, nor in ours, that there should be a "reconciliation." Neither they nor we could afford to have it said that the Pope is the chaplain of the King. Look at my case. I am a Protestant, but I am also an Italian. I look upon the Church as the greatest Italian institution, the chief agency for the spread of "Italianity" throughout the world. Its governing hierarchy is mainly Italian. Indeed, if the Church is to remain Roman and to be successfully

managed, that preponderance must remain. We Italians could never tolerate a foreign Pope and a foreign hierarchy in our midst. We wish the Vatican to be Italian. Should there be a "reconciliation" between the Pope and King, should the Pope cease to protest against his "imprisonment," you foreign Catholics would soon suspect the Vatican of being more Italian than Catholic, and you would press for something like proportional representation in the Sacred College of Cardinals. In time we should get a Sacred College with a majority of foreigners—Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards, Americans, Austrians, and what not. One day, they would elect a foreign Pope whom we should have to turn out of Rome. People in the Vatican know that very well. Therefore they keep up an anti-Italian attitude and protest against Italian "oppression."

The author of the present volume has recalled the words attributed to Baron Sonnino to a high dignitary of the Church, and has asked him to express his thoughts on the possibilities of the future and especially on the hypothesis of a foreign Pope. This is, in substance, the reply that has been received:

This statement of Sonnino [said the high dignitary] entirely reflects the mentality of the old Italian Liberalism with regard to the Roman Question. If

to-day Sonnino could come back to earth and read the Lateran Treaty, how surprised he would be! He began by starting from the false presupposition that the Catholic Church is "the greatest Italian institution and the chief agency for the spread of Italianity." The universalism, the œcumenicalism of the Catholic Church completely escaped his Nationalist outlook. Perhaps it still escapes the outlook of the Nationalists to-day.

Sonnino imagined a species of Machiavellism, according to which the Pope had to protest against his "imprisonment" to prevent foreign Catholics from suspecting the Vatican of being more Italian than Catholic. And it never once entered his head that the protest might, instead, be dictated by higher considerations, that is, by the proposal to preserve effectively the independence of the Holy Keys in the relations with the Catholics of the whole world. In saying "We could never tolerate a foreign Pope," he spoke in the name of the old Liberals who then were all-powerful in the Peninsula. The Catholics, because of the Pontifical *Non Expedit,* had no parliamentary representation in the Chamber. The Socialists were only a weak group at Montecitoria. But if to-morrow the Fascist régime should collapse with the restoration of Parliament the Nationalist Liberals of the Sonnino type would necessarily be reduced in number. The Catholics of the former Popular Party, instead, still have a large following in the country;

and Socialism, in homage to its internationalism, would hardly fall into the contradiction of rising against a "foreign Pope." Besides, it would not eventually be either practical or convenient for Italy to set itself up against three hundred millions of Catholics spread throughout the world.

The ideas of Sonnino on the Papacy as an Italian institution and the agency for the spread of Italianity put a good weapon into the hands of non-Italian Catholics, who for some time have set themselves against the Italianization of the Catholic Church and demand larger representation in the Sacred College.

There is no doubt that, while the conflict between the Vatican and the Quirinal existed, the prospect of a foreign Pope had no chance of becoming reality. An Italian Pope was most clearly indicated when it was a question of maintaining strained relations without making the conflict more pronounced; but after the Lateran Treaty the old temporalist complaints of yesterday become anachronistic and the prospect of a foreign Pope seems possible. It also appears natural in view of the fact that the Papacy becomes ever more and more international.

It would be sufficient also to consider the missionary problem alone to see new and wide horizons open out. Benedict XV and Pius XI have disclosed a new cycle. When the present Pontiff consecrated beneath the dome of Michael Angelo six Chinese Bishops and a Japanese Bishop, he gave a turn to the wheel of the

ship of Peter which threw it among the billows of the Pacific. There is now a Chinese, Japanese, and Indian Catholic Church, just as there is an English, American, French, and Italian Catholicism. This fact contains the germs of a true revolution. A return is made to the dawn of Christianity, when the native clergy occupied a high place. The civilizing peoples are pushing in this direction. The Papacy makes itself more and more universal, pushed by the needs of its apostolate. Out of 1,700 millions of men living on the earth, there are 1,066 millions of pagans and Mohammedans. In the middle of this formidable mass of infidels the Roman Church possesses only 12 million baptized persons who will be increased to-morrow by a million and a half of catechumens. This small number of converts has at its service only 13,000 white bishops and priests and 4,000 native bishops and priests. They are assisted by about 40,000 white or native monks and nuns, and by little more than 65,000 men and women who fulfil the functions of catechists. To-day, as in the period preceding the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Holy See has seen the tragedy of the situation of the world. Its more recent missionary policy is a proof of this.

The world widens and the Church of Rome takes into account the new realities. She is the West and the East. She is the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, and the Pacific at one and the same time.

Think of the Catholic Church of America. Up to

some time ago still dependent on the *Propaganda Fide*, to-day she provides not only for her churches and her universities but has become a great force in the Universal Church, not only because of the financial means which she has at her disposal but also because of her spiritual energies. She does not stand aloof from the civilizing work of the Republic of the Stars and Stripes, and demands in this work the part which is due to her. She already possesses four Cardinals, who are a plain proof of the new estimate which the Vatican forms of her in comparison with the Universal Church. That she will climb to greater heights cannot be doubted.

Relations between the British Empire and the Church of Rome also have greatly improved. Millions and millions of believers who look towards the white-robed man of the Vatican are spread throughout the immense British Empire. In a country where there is freedom the cry "No Popery" may again resound on the banks of the Thames, but as time goes on it grows fainter and fainter, and new ties in the field of civilizing action are being formed. After the death of Pope Pius X a longer period of time was given to enable the Cardinals of the two Americas and of the Dominions to reach the banks of the Tiber for the Conclave.

Yet [said the high dignitary in conclusion] if the Lateran Treaty is vital, it contains in its folds the possibility of a foreign Pope. The date of Febru-

ary 11, 1929, closes a period, that of the old temporalism, and discloses another, that of the greater universalism. We must rise above transient things and the particular conditions which have led to the creation of the "City of the Vatican." When we contemplate the event through the eyes of the historian in relation to the great universal problems which are pressing upon humanity and the Churches, everything leads to the belief that to-morrow or the day after to-morrow a Pope who is not of Italian nationality may be able to sit on the throne of St. Peter. Such an event would not come as a surprise to the Vatican. Its possibility has been taken into consideration—and not only from to-day.

APPENDIX A

TEXT OF THE TREATY, CONCORDAT AND FINANCIAL CONVENTION

[Note: The translation of the documents is the property of the United Press Associations, and is here reprinted under arrangement with that organization.]

I

THE TREATY

In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity:

Whereas the Holy See and Italy have recognized the convenience of eliminating every reason for difference existing between them, to come to a definite arrangement of their reciprocal relations, which conforms to the justice and to the dignity of the two high parties, and assuring to the Holy See in a stable way the condition of fact and of right which guarantees to it absolute independence in fulfillment of its high mission to the world, and by which the Holy See consents to recognize the Roman question raised in 1870 with the assigning of Rome to the Kingdom

of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy as settled in an irrevocable manner: and

Whereas, owing to the necessity to assure absolute visible independence to the Holy See in order to guarantee it indisputable sovereignty also in the international field, it is deemed necessary to constitute Vatican City with special dispositions, recognizing its full property rights, with exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction over it to the Holy See; his Holiness, the Supreme Pontiff, Pius XI., and his Majesty, Victor Emmanuel III., King of Italy, have resolved to stipulate a treaty, nominating two plenipotentiaries for this purpose, namely, on the part of his Holiness, his Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, his Secretary of State, and on the part of his Majesty, Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, President of the Cabinet, and chief of the Government, who, having exchanged their respective credentials, found the same good and in due form, have agreed to the following articles:

Article One

Italy recognizes and reaffirms the principle set forth in Article I of the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy of March 4, 1848, whereby the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion is the sole religion of the State.

Article Two

Italy recognizes the sovereignty of the Holy See

in the international field as an inherent attribute of its nature, in conformity with its tradition and the exigencies of its mission in the world.

Article Three

Italy recognizes full possession and exclusive and absolute power and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See over the Vatican, as at present constituted, with all its appurtenances and endowments, creating Vatican City for such purpose with its special aims in connection with the present treaty. The confines of said Vatican City are indicated on a plan which constitutes the first annex to the present treaty, and of which it forms an integral part. It is agreed, however, that St. Peter's Square, also forming a part of Vatican City, will continue ordinarily to be open to the public and subject to the police powers of Italian authority, which authority will cease at the foot of the steps leading into the basilica, although the latter will continue to be destined for public worship. The police will abstain, therefore, from ascending the steps or approaching the basilica, except in case they should be invited to enter by competent authorities. When the Holy See, in expectation of a special ceremony, will deem it opportune to withdraw St. Peter's Square from free public transit, the Italian authorities, unless invited by competent authorities to remain, will retire beyond the external lines of the Bernini colonnade and its prolongation.

APPENDIX A

Article Four

The sovereignty and exclusive jurisdiction which Italy recognizes to the Holy See implies that there cannot be any interference whatsoever on the part of the Italian Government, and that within Vatican City there will be no other authority than the Holy See.

Article Five

For the execution of that which is established in the preceding article, before the present treaty goes into effect, the territory constituting Vatican City must be made free from all liens or any eventual tenants by the Italian Government. The Holy See will provide for closing the approaches by inclosing the open part except St. Peter's Square. It is, however, agreed that regarding real estate therein belonging to religious institutions or organizations, the Holy See will arrange directly to regulate its relations with these, the Italian State being disinterested.

Article Six

Italy undertakes to furnish through agreement with interested organizations assurance to Vatican City of an adequate supply of water within the territory. It will also provide for communication with Italian State railroads by constructing a railroad station within Vatican City at a location marked on

the annexed plan, as well as for the movement of the Vatican's coaches on Italian railroads. It will also provide direct connection of telephone services, telegraphs, radio telephones, radio and postal telegraph with other States to Vatican City. It will, besides, provide for coordination of other public services. The Italian State will furnish the above at its own expense within one year from the date the present treaty goes into effect. The Holy See will arrange at its own expense for systematizing the present approaches to the Vatican, as well as others which it thinks it may be necessary to open. Agreements will be made between the Holy See and the Italian Government for circulation in the latter's territory of land vehicles and aircraft of Vatican City.

Article Seven

In territory surrounding Vatican City the Italian Government pledges not to permit new construction which overlooks Vatican City. It will also provide for the partial demolition, for the same purpose, of those already existing at Porta Cavalleggeri and along the Via Aurelia and Viale Vaticano.

In conformity with the regulations of international law, aircraft of any kind are prohibited from flying over Vatican territory. In Rusticucci Square and zones adjacent to the colonnade, where extraterritoriality does not extend according to Article fifteen, any building or street changes which might

interest the Vatican must be made by common accord.

Article Eight

Italy considers the person of the Supreme Pontiff as sacred and inviolate, and declares attempts against him, or propaganda to commit them, punishable by the same penalties established for attempts or propaganda to commit them against the person of the King. Offences or insults publicly committed in Italian territory against the person of the Supreme Pontiff with spoken or written word are punishable as such offences or insults against the person of the King.

Article Nine

In conformity with the regulations of international law, all persons having fixed residences in Vatican City are subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See. Such residence is not lost by the simple fact of temporary residence elsewhere when not accompanied by the loss of a house in Vatican City or by other circumstances showing abandonment of residence.

Ceasing to be subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See, persons mentioned in the preceding paragraph will be considered outright Italian citizens in Italy, when not in possession of other citizenship. The same persons, while subject to the sovereignty of

the Holy See, will be subject in Italian territory—even in matters wherein personal law must be observed—to Italian legislation, and in cases where they are believed to be citizens of other countries they shall be subject to the laws of the State to which they belong.

Article Ten

Dignitaries of the church and persons belonging to the pontifical court, who will be designated in a list to be agreed upon by the high contracting parties, even when not citizens of the Vatican, will always in all cases regarding Italy be exempt from military service, from jury duty, and from all services of a personal character. This rule also will be applied to functionaries declared by the Holy See to be indispensable and those permanently attached with fixed stipends to offices of the Holy See, and also to departments and offices designated and assigned in Articles thirteen, fourteen, fifteen and sixteen existing outside Vatican City.

Such functionaries will be listed by agreement as the above-mentioned list is brought up to date annually by the Holy See. Ecclesiastics who for reasons of their offices are occupied outside Vatican City in execution of acts of the Holy See will not be subject by reason of their offices to any impediment, investigation or molestation on the part of the Italian authorities. Every foreigner invested with ecclesi-

astical office will enjoy the same personal guaranties due to Italian citizens by virtue of the laws of the Kingdom.

Article Eleven

The central bodies of the Catholic Church are exempt from all interference on the part of the Italian State, except for dispositions of Italian law concerning purchases by moral bodies, as well as transfer of real estate.

Article Twelve

Italy recognizes to the Holy See the active and passive right to maintain legations according to the general regulations of international law. Envoys of foreign Governments to the Holy See will continue to enjoy all of the prerogatives and immunities which accrue to diplomatic agents according to international law. Their seats can continue to remain in Italian territory, enjoying the immunity due them according to international law, even though their States shall not have diplomatic relations with Italy. It is agreed that Italy pledges for ever in every case to let pass freely correspondence of all States, including belligerents, both to the Holy See and vice versa, as well as to permit free access of Bishops of the whole world to the Apostolic See.

The high contracting parties pledge themselves to establish normal diplomatic relations through the accrediting of an Italian ambassador to the Holy See

and of a pontifical nuncio to Italy, who will be dean of the diplomatic corps according to the customary right recognized by the Congress of Vienna, January 9, 1815.

By reason of the recognized sovereignty, and without prejudice as set forth in Article nineteen, diplomats and Holy See couriers sent in the name of the Supreme Pontiff enjoy in Italian territory, even in time of war, the same treatment due diplomats and diplomatic couriers of other foreign Governments according to the regulations of international law.

Article Thirteen

Italy recognizes to the Holy See the full possession of the patriarchal basilicas of St. John Lateran, of St. Mary the Greater, and of St. Paul Outside the Walls, with their annexed buildings. The State transfers to the Holy See free direction and administration of the basilica of St. Paul and also its annexed monastery, paying the Holy See sums corresponding to the amounts fixed annually by the Ministry of Education for said edifice. It is at the same time agreed that the Holy See is in freehold possession of the edifice of St. Calixtus, near St. Mary in Trastevere.

Article Fourteen

Italy recognizes to the Holy See full property rights of the pontifical palace of Castel Gandolfo, with all endowments and appurtenances which at

present are possessed by the Holy See, as well as pledging itself to cede the same terms in full property rights of the Villa Barberini in Castel Gandolfo, with all endowments and appurtenances. This consignment must be effected within six months after the present treaty goes into effect.

In order to make one whole of the property sites on the north side of Janiculum Hill, belonging to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide and other ecclesiastical bodies which overlook the Vatican palaces, the State pledges the transfer to the Holy See or to other bodies designated later all real property of the State or of third parties existing in said zone. The real property belonging to said Congregation and other institutions, as well as other ones to be transferred, are indicated on the annexed plan.

Italy lastly transfers to the Holy See in full free property rights the convent edifices in Rome annexed to the basilica of the Holy Twelve Apostles, to the churches of St. Andrea della Valle and St. Charles dei Catinari, to be consigned free of all tenants within a year of the date the present treaty goes into effect.

Article Fifteen

Real estate designated in Article thirteen and in the first and second lines of Article fourteen, as well as the palaces Dataria, Cancelleria and Propaganda Fide in the Piazza di Spagna, and the Palace of the

Holy Office and those adjacent thereto now used by the congregation of the Oriental Church in the Piazza Scossa Cavalli, and also the palace of the Vicariate and other edifices which the Holy See in the future deems necessary in order to arrange its departments, although forming a part of the territory of the Italian State, will enjoy the immunity recognized by international law to seats of diplomatic agents of foreign States.

The same immunity will be applied also regarding other churches and also in churches outside of Rome when there is celebrated in them, without being open to the public, ceremonies at which the Supreme Pontiff is present.

Article Sixteen

Real estate designated in the three preceding articles, as well as that used for seats for the following pontifical institutes: namely, the Gregorian University, the Biblical Institute, the Oriental Institute, the Archeological Institute, the Russian Seminary, Lombard College, the two palaces of St. Apollinaris, as well as the house of spiritual retreat for the clergy at Sts. John and Paul, will never be subjected to liens or expropriations for cause of public utility without a preceding agreement with the Holy See. The State also will exempt it from taxes, whether ordinary or extraordinary, whether levied by the State or any other body.

The Holy See has the power to make whatever adjustment it believes suitable to all of the above real estate designated in the present article, and also in the three preceding articles, without need for authorization or consent on the part of Italian governmental, provincial or communal authorities, which can rely on the noble artistic traditions which the Catholic Church boasts.

Article Seventeen

Contributions of whatever nature due to the Holy See by other central bodies of the Catholic Church or bodies directly managed by the Holy See, even outside of Rome, or to their dignitaries, employes and functionaries, even when not fixed, will be exempted in Italian territory, beginning January 1, 1929, from any tribute whatsoever both on the part of the State as well as any other body.

Article Eighteen

The treasuries of art and science in the Vatican City and in the Lateran Palace will remain visible to scholars and visitors, while full liberty will be reserved by the Holy See to regulate when they shall be open to the public.

Article Nineteen

Diplomats and envoys of the Holy See, diplomats and envoys of foreign countries to the Holy See,

dignitaries of the church coming from abroad to the Vatican furnished with a passport of the State of origin visaed by Papal representatives abroad, can without any other formality reach the Vatican through Italian territory. The same procedure will apply to those furnished with a regular pontifical passport who go from the Vatican City abroad.

Article Twenty

Merchandise from abroad coming to the Vatican City, or outside the Vatican City for institutions or officers of the Holy See, will always be admitted in any point within Italian confines or any port of the kingdom through Italian territory with full exemption of customs duties and intercommunal taxes.

Article Twenty-one

Cardinals enjoy in Italy the same honors due princes of the blood. Those resident in Rome, also those outside the Vatican City, are citizens of the latter to all intents and purposes. During a vacancy in the pontifical See Italy provides in a special way that free transit and access of cardinals through Italian territory to the Vatican will not be hindered, nor will any impediment or limit to personal liberty be placed on the same.

Italy in addition will take precautions that on the territory about the Vatican City acts will not be committed which may disturb the neighbourhood of

the Vatican Conclave. Such regulations prevail also in Conclaves which may be held outside the Vatican City, also Councils presided over by the Holy Father or his legates, also as regards bishops called upon to participate therein.

Article Twenty-two

On request of the Holy See, and also on delegation of power which can be given by the Holy See either in single cases or permanently, Italy will provide within her own territory for the punishment of crimes which are committed within the Vatican City, except when the author of the crime may have fled into Italian territory, in which case the procedure against him will be according to Italian laws. The Holy See will consign to the Italian State persons who have fled to the Vatican City charged with acts committed in Italian territory which may be considered criminal by the laws of both States. And analogous procedure will apply to persons charged with crime who flee to property declared immune in Article 15, unless those in charge of such property prefer to invite the Italian police to enter and arrest the fugitive.

Article Twenty-three

For execution within the Kingdom of sentences emanating from tribunals of Vatican City, regulations of international law will be applied. Sentences

and decrees issued by ecclesiastical authority and officially communicated to the civil authorities regarding ecclesiastical or religious persons, or concerning spiritual or disciplinary matters, will have at once full juridical efficiency for all civil purposes.

Article Twenty-four

The Holy See, in relation to the sovereignty due to it also in the international sphere, declares that it wishes to remain and will remain extraneous to all temporal disputes between States and to international congresses held for such objects, unless the contending parties make concordant appeal to its peaceful mission; at the same time reserving the right to exercise its moral and spiritual power.

In consequence of this declaration, Vatican City will always and in every case be considered neutral and inviolable territory.

Article Twenty-five

By special convention, signed jointly with the present treaty, and constituting the fourth annex to the same, and forming an integral part thereof, the liquidation of credits to the Holy See will be proceeded with.

Article Twenty-six

The Holy See agrees that with the agreements signed to-day, adequate assurance is made for what is

necessary for it for providing for due liberty and independence of the pastoral government of the diocese of Rome and the Catholic Chuch in Italy and the world, declares the Roman question definitely and irrevocably settled and therefor eliminated, and recognizes the Kingdom of Italy under the dynasty of the House of Savoy, with Rome the capital of the Italian State.

Italy in her turn recognizes the State of the Vatican City under the sovereignty of the Supreme Pontiff.

The law of the 15th of May, 1871, No. 214, is abrogated as well as any other decree contrary to the present treaty.

[N. B. This law is the so-called Law of Guarantees.]

Article Twenty-seven

The present treaty will be laid before the Supreme Pontiff and the King of Italy for ratification not later than four months from the date of signing, and will become effective on the act of the exchange of ratifications.

II

THE CONCORDAT

In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity:

Whereas, since the beginning of negotiations between the Holy See and Italy for resolution of the

Roman question, the Holy See itself has proposed that a treaty relative to the said question should be accompanied as a necessary complement by a concordat for settling the conditions of religion and the church in Italy, and

Whereas, a treaty for solution of the Roman question has been concluded and signed today,

His Holiness, the Supreme Pontiff and His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III, King of Italy, have agreed to make a concordat and to this end have nominated the same plenipotentiaries delegated for stipulation of the treaty, that is to say, for His Holiness the Most Reverend Eminence Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, his Secretary of State, and for His Majesty Victor Emmanuel III, Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, Premier and head of the Government, who, having exchanged full credentials and found the same good and in due form, have agreed to the following articles:

Article One

Italy, according to the terms of Article one of the Treaty, assures to the Catholic Church free exercise of spiritual power, free and public exercise of worship, as well as jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, in conformity with the regulations of the present concordat; where it is necessary accords to ecclesiastics the defense of its authority for acts of their spiritual ministry. In consideration of the sacred

character of the Eternal City, Bishopric of the Supreme Pontiff and bourne of pilgrimages, the Italian Government will engage to prevent in Rome anything which may conflict with the said character.

Article Two

The Holy See communicates and corresponds freely with bishops, the clergy and the whole Catholic world without any interference by the Italian Government. In the same way, freely with their clergy and all the Faithful.

Both the Holy See and bishops may freely publish, also affix to inside and external doors of edifices destined for worship or offices of their ministry, instructions, ordinances, pastoral letters, diocesan bulletins and other acts regarding the spiritual government of the Faithful which they may choose to issue within the province of their competence. Such publications and notices, and generally all acts and documents relative to the spiritual government of the Faithful, are not subject to taxes.

Such publications as regard the Holy See can be made in any language. Those by bishops are made in Italian or Latin, but beside the Italian text the ecclesiastical authority may add a translation in other languages.

Ecclesiastical authorities may do so inside and at the doors of churches as well as edifices which are their property.

Article Three

Theological students of the last two years of preparation in theology intended for the priesthood and novices in religious institutions may, on their request, postpone from year to year until the twenty-sixth year of age fulfillment of the obligations of military service.

Clerics ordained *in sacris* and members of Religious Orders who take vows are exempt from military service except in case of general mobilization. In such cases priests pass into the armed forces of the State, but maintain their Religious dress, so that they can practice among the troops their sacred ministry under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the military ordinary bishop. According to the terms they are preferentially attached to the health services.

At the same time, even if general mobilization is ordered, priests exercising full Divine rights are dispensed from the call to arms. Ordinaries, parish priests, parochial vicars or coadjutors, temporary vicars and priests permanently attached to rectories of churches open to worship are included in this category.

Article Four

Ecclesiastics and members of Religious Orders are exempt from the office of jurymen.

Article Five

No ecclesiastic can be employed or remain in the employment or offices of the Italian State or public bodies depending upon the same without *nulla osta* of the diocesan ordinary.

Revocation of *nulla osta* deprives the ecclesiastics of capacity to continue exercising employment or office taken up.

In any case apostate priests or those incurring censure cannot be employed in a teaching post or any office or employment in which they have immediate contact with the public.

[N. B. *Nulla osta* means "nothing hinders."]

Article Six

Stipends and other emoluments enjoyed by ecclesiatics on account of their office are exempt from charges and liens in the same way as stipends and salaries of State employés.

Article Seven

Ecclesiastics cannot be requested by magistrates or other authorities to give information regarding persons or matters that have come to their knowledge through the exercise of their sacred ministry.

Article Eight

In the case of the sending of an ecclesiastic or a member of a Religious Order before a penal magistrate for crime, the King's procurator must relate

the proceedings thereof to the ordinary of the diocese in whose territory he exercises jurisdiction, and must immediately transmit to the office of the ordinary the preliminary decision thereon and, if issued, the final sentence, both of the court of first instance and the court of appeal.

In the case of arrest, the ecclesiastic or member of a Religious Order is treated with the respect due to his state and hierarchic degree. In case of the sentence of an ecclesiastic or member of an ecclesiastical order, punishment is to be, if possible, undergone in places separate from those designated for laymen, unless a competent ordinary has reduced the prisoner to a lay state.

Article Nine

As a general rule edifices open for worship are exempt from confiscation or occupation.

When for grave public necessity it becomes necessary to occupy an edifice open to worship, the authority proceeding with the occupation must make previous arrangements with the ordinary, unless reasons of absolute urgency are opposed thereto. In this case the occupying authority must immediately inform the ordinary.

Except in cases of urgent necessity the public force cannot enter for the exercise of its functions edifices open to worship without previous notice to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Article Ten

For no reason is it permitted to proceed with the demolition of edifices open to worship except by previous agreement with competent ecclesiastical authorities.

Article Eleven

The State recognizes the holidays established by the Church, which are: All Sundays, New Year's Day, Epiphany, St. Joseph's Day (March 19), Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul (June 29), the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (August 15), All Saints' Day, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 8) and Christmas Day.

Article Twelve

On Sundays and fixed Church holidays, where there is a chapter, the celebrant of high mass will sing according to the liturgy a prayer for the prosperity of the King of Italy and the Italian State.

Article Thirteen

The Italian Government will communicate to the Holy See a full list of the ecclesiastical personnel regularly attached to its service for spiritual assistance with the military forces of the State, as soon as same is approved according to law.

The choice of ecclesiastics charged with the high direction of the service of spiritual assistance—military ordinary, vicar and inspectors—is made confidentially by the Holy See to the Italian Government. Whenever the Italian Government has reasons for opposing such choice, it will communicate the same to the Holy See, which will proceed to another choice.

The military ordinary will have the rank of archbishop.

The nomination of military chaplains is made by competent authorities of the Italian State on choice of the military ordinary.

Article Fourteen

The Italian aeronautical, terrestrial and naval troops shall enjoy in regard to religious duties the privileges and exemptions permitted by Canon Law.

Military chaplains have, as regards said troops, parochial stipends. They exercise a sacred ministry under the jurisdiction of the military ordinary, assisted by his own curia.

The Military Ordinary has jurisdiction also over the religious personnel, male or female, attached to the military hospitals.

Article Fifteen

The ordinary military Archbishop is attached to a chapter of the Church of the Pantheon in Rome, con-

stituting with it the clergy charged with religious service at the said basilica.

Such clergy are authorized to attend all religious functions, even outside of Rome, which in conformity with canonical regulations, may be requested by the State or the Royal Household.

The Holy See agrees to confer on all canons forming the chapter of the Church of the Pantheon the dignity of Apostolic Prothonotaries *ad instar durante munere*. The nomination of each of them will be made by the Cardinal Vicar of Rome after presentation by His Majesty the King of Italy, and following confidential indication of the candidates.

The Holy See reserves the right to transfer the Deaconry to another church.

Article Sixteen

The high contracting parties will proceed by agreement through the operation of mixed commissions to a revision of the diocesan limits in order to make them correspond with the provinces of each State.

It is understood that the Holy See will create a Diocese of Zara; that no part of the territory subject to the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Italy will depend upon a bishop whose territory is subject to the sovereignty of another State; and no diocese of the Kingdom of Italy will include territorial zones subject to the sovereignty of another State.

The same principle will be observed for all parishes

existing or to be created in territories near each State.

Modifications which, after the agreement heretofore outlined, may be made to diocesan limits, will be arranged by the Holy See in agreement with the Italian Government and in observance of the principles laid down, except for small rectifications of territory required for spiritual needs.

Article Seventeen

The reduction of the number of dioceses to result from the application of the preceding article will be carried into effect gradually as the dioceses become vacant.

It is understood that the reduction will not imply suppression of titles within the dioceses or of chapters which will be maintained, but that the dioceses will be regrouped in such a manner that the chief towns of the same will correspond with those of the provinces.

The aforesaid reductions will leave untouched all of the present economic reserves of the dioceses and other ecclesiastical bodies existing within the same, including the sums now paid by the Italian State.

Article Eighteen

Owing to the necessity, by disposition of ecclesiastical authority, of uniting several parishes in a temporary or definite way, either by intrusting them to one parish priest assisted by one or more vice parish

priests, or by uniting several priests into one presbytery, the State shall maintain unchanged the economic allowance due these parishes.

Article Nineteen

The choice of archbishops and bishops belongs to the Holy See. Before an archbishop, bishop or coadjutor with the right of succession is nominated, the Holy See shall communicate the name of the chosen person to the Italian Government, in order to be sure that the Government has no objections of a political nature against such person. The formalities to this effect shall be carried out with all possible haste and with the greatest discretion, so that secrecy about the chosen candidate shall be maintained until he is formally nominated.

Article Twenty

All bishops, before their installation in their respective dioceses, shall take an oath at the hands of the Premier under the following formula:

"Before God and on the Holy Gospels I swear and promise to respect and cause my clergy to respect the King and Government as they are established under the constitutional laws of the State. I furthermore swear and promise not to participate in any agreement or attend any council which would be injurious to the Italian State, or to the public peace, and not to permit my clergy any such participation. Be-

ing mindful only of the welfare and interest of the Italian State, I will endeavor to avoid anything which might menace them."

Article Twenty-one

The choice of persons for ecclesiastical benefices belongs to the ecclesiastical authority. The appointment of such persons shall be communicated confidentially to the Italian Government by the proper church authorities. Appointments cannot be approved until thirty days have elapsed since such communication. In the meantime the Italian Government, if it has any objection to an appointment, may manifest it confidentially to the ecclesiastical authority which, in the event a discrepancy of views persists, shall submit the case to the Holy See.

Should serious objections against the exercise of an ecclesiastical benefice by a priest arise, the Italian Government shall communicate such objections to the bishop, who, by agreement with the Government, shall take appropriate measures within three months. In the event of a controversy between the bishop and the Government, the Holy See shall refer the solution to two ecclesiastics of its own choice, who, by agreement with two delegates from the Italian Government, shall make a final decision.

Article Twenty-two

Ecclesiastics who are not Italian citizens cannot be

made the holders of benefices existing in Italy. Bishops and parish priests must speak Italian. If necessary they must have coadjutors who, besides Italian, must understand and speak also the local language, for the purpose of giving religious assistance in the language of the Faithful in accordance with the rules of the church.

Article Twenty-three

The provisions of Articles sixteen, seventeen, nineteen, twenty, twenty-one and twenty-two are not to be applied to Rome and its suburban dioceses.

It is agreed that, in the event the Holy See reorganizes such dioceses, allowances now paid by the Italian Government to parishes or other ecclesiastical institutions shall remain unchanged.

Article Twenty-four

The *exequatur* and the royal *placet*, or any other royal appointment in the matter of ecclesiastical benefices and offices, are abolished throughout Italy except the exemptions set by Article twenty-nine, "seventh."

Article Twenty-five

The Italian State renounces the royal prerogatives concerning major and minor ecclesiastical benefices. The right exercised by the State of using the allowances during the vacancy of ecclesiastical benefices is abolished.

Article Twenty-six

Appointment of those who shall enjoy major or minor benefices, or those who temporarily represent a vacant see or benefice, shall be effective from the date on which the appointment is communicated officially to the Italian Government. The administration and the use of income during such vacancy are regulated by the rule of canon law. In case of bad management, the Italian State, after agreement with the ecclesiastical authorities, can seize the income, turning it over to the person in charge, or, in the latter's absence, to the institution.

Article Twenty-seven

The basilicas and Holy House at Loreto, St. Francis at Assisi, St. Anthony at Padua, together with the buildings and institutions annexed thereto, except those having merely a lay character, shall be ceded to the Holy See, and their administration shall freely belong to the Holy See. All institutions of any sort which are conducted by the Holy See in Italy, together with missionary colleges, shall likewise be free from any interference from the Italian Government. Purchases of property by moral bodies shall, however, be subject to Italian laws. The property and title of the foregoing basilicas shall be defined by mixed commissions, who shall take due account of the rights of third parties or the endowments which are necessary to the foregoing lay institutions. Ecclesiastical ad-

ministration shall replace civil administration in churches in which the latter administration is existing.

Article Twenty-eight

In order to appease the conscience of those who, under Italian law, own ecclesiastical property, the Holy See grants full recognition to the title of such property. The Holy See will advise bishops to this effect.

Article Twenty-nine

The Italian State shall revise its legislation in so far as ecclesiastical matters are concerned in order to make it conform to the aspirations inspiring both the treaty and the concordat. The high contracting parties agree forthwith as follows:

First, to leaving unchanged the juridical status of ecclesiastical bodies hitherto recognized by Italian laws (namely the Holy See, its dioceses, chapters, seminaries, parishes and so forth). Such status shall be extended to churches open to worship which hitherto have not been in possession of it, including those formerly belonging to ecclesiastical bodies which were suppressed. Except for what is provided in Article 27, the boards of administrators, wherever they may exist and whatever their denomination, even if composed of a majority or totally of laymen, shall not interfere with services of worship, while

appointment of such boards shall be made in agreement with ecclesiastical authorities.

Second, the juridical status shall be recognized of religious associations with or without vows which are approved by the Holy See, which have their mother house in Italy which are represented, *de jure* or *de facto,* by persons having Italian citizenship and who live in Italy. The juridical status also is recognized of Italian Religious provinces within the boundaries of the Italian State and its colonial possessions, also of associations having their mother house abroad, provided the same conditions are implied, also of Religious houses, when the particular rules of each Order attribute to them the capacity of buying or owning, also of the headquarters of Religious Orders, also of provinces of foreign religious associations. Associations and Religious houses already enjoying juridical status will maintain it.

Third, confraternities the main purpose of which is to worship shall not be subject to further alteration of their aims and purposes, and they shall depend upon ecclesiastical authorities in so far as their functioning and administration are concerned.

Fourth, the existence of religious foundations of any sort is permitted, provided that it is manifest that they respond to the religious need of the population and that there is no financial obligation on the part of the State. The above provision also applies to existing foundations.

Fifth, one half of the membership of boards of civil administrators of ecclesiastical estates formed after such estates were seized by the State shall be composed of members designated by ecclesiastical authorities. The same provision applies to religious funds in new provinces.

Sixth, acts done hitherto by ecclesiastical and religious bodies without complying with civil laws may be recognized and regularized by the Italian State upon demand of the bishop to be submitted within three months of the date upon which the present concordat becomes operative.

Seventh, the Italian State surrenders jurisdiction over the palatine clergy throughout Italy, except the clergy attached to the Church of St. Veronica of the Handkerchief at Turin, the church at Superga, the Church of the Sudario at Rome, and chapels annexed to the royal palaces or the residences of members of the royal family. A special commission shall attend to assigning adequate endowment to each palatine church or basilica under the criteria set for churches in Article twenty-seven.

Eighth, leaving unchanged the taxation facilities already enjoyed by ecclesiastical bodies under existing Italian laws, the purpose of worship or religion is placed on the same footing as the purpose of benevolence or culture insofar as taxation is concerned. The extra tax of thirty per cent imposed by the law of August 15, 1867, the so-called contribu-

tion taxes provided by the laws of July 7, 1866, and August 15, 1867, and the tax on the transfer of ecclesiastical property imposed by the royal decree of December, 1923, are abolished. Any special tax on church property is excluded in the future. Clergymen shall be exempted from taxation in so far as the exercise of their sacerdotal ministry is concerned, or any other tax of the kind.

Ninth, the use of religious garb by laymen, or by clergymen who are prohibited from wearing it by definite order of the proper ecclesiastical authorities—an order which must be communicated to the Italian Government—is forbidden and punished with the same penalties which are meted to those who illicitly wear the military uniform.

Article Thirty

Ordinary and extraordinary administration of any property belonging to any ecclesiastical institute or religious association is carried out under the supervision and control of the proper church authorities, and any interference by the Italian State is excluded.

The Italian State, until it is established otherwise through new accords, shall continue making up inadequacy in incomes of vacant ecclesiastical benefits through allowances in measure not inferior to that granted by present laws. Therefore, the management of such benefits—so far as acts and contracts beyond simple administration are concerned—shall be

effected with the intervention of the Italian State. Income of Rome suburban dioceses and income of chapters and parishes in Rome are not subject to the aforesaid intervention. The amount of income of such dioceses, chapters and parishes shall be announced yearly by bishops, dioceses and the Cardinal Vicar of Rome in order that they may get the extra allowance provided under the present laws.

Article Thirty-one

The creation of new ecclesiastical bodies or religious associations shall be made by ecclesiastical authority in accordance with the rules of canon law and recognition of their juridical status, so far as civil effects are concerned, shall be made by civil authorities.

Article Thirty-two

Recognition and authorizations provided in the present concordat and treaty shall occur through rules set by civil laws which shall be made to conform to provisions of the treaty and concordat.

Article Thirty-three

Ownership of the Catacombs existing in Rome and in other places in Italy shall be ceded to the Holy See which undertakes to guard, keep up and preserve them. Therefore, the Holy See after complying with

the laws of the State and respecting the eventual rights of third parties is empowered to proceed to the necessary excavations and to remove the holy bodies.

Article Thirty-four

The Italian State, wishing to reinvest the institution of marriage, which is the basis of the family, with the dignity conformable to the Catholic traditions of its people, recognizes the Sacrament of Matrimony performed according to canon law as fully effective in civil law. Notices of such marriages will be made both in the parish church and in the town or city hall. Immediately after the celebration of such marriage, the parish priest will explain to those he has married the civil effect of matrimony, reading the articles of the civil code regarding the rights and duties of spouses and will prepare the marriage certificate, a copy of which he will send within five days to the commune in order that it may be copied into the registers by the civil authorities.

Cases concerning nullity of marriage and dispensation from marriage by reason of nonconsummation, are reserved for ecclesiastical tribunals and departments.

Decrees and respective sentences here, when they become final, will be brought before the supreme tribunal of Segnatura, which will decide if the rules

of canon law regarding jurisdiction of the court, citation and proper appearance or non-appearance of the parties concerned have been respected.

Such decrees and final sentences with the decisions of the supreme court of Segnatura will be transmitted to the appeal court having jurisdiction over the case, which by means of an order issued in council will render the same executive for all civil purposes, and will order that they be inscribed on the civil registers of the State alongside the record of the marriage act.

As regards cases of personal separation, the Holy See agrees that the same be judged by the civil judicial authority.

Article Thirty-five

For middle schools maintained by ecclesiastical or religious bodies, the institution of State examination remains unchanged with equal opportunities for candidates of government and religious institutions.

Article Thirty-six

Italy considers the teaching of Christian Doctrine according to the forms received from Catholic tradition as the foundation and crown of public education. Therefore Italy consents that the religious teaching now imparted in the elementary schools be further developed in the secondary schools according

to a program to be agreed upon between the Holy See and the State.

Such instruction will be given by masters, professors, priests and members of religious orders approved by ecclesiastical authorities and in subsidiary form by lay masters and professors furnished with proper certificates of capacity issued by the diocesan ordinary.

Revocation of the certificate by the ordinary immediately deprives the teacher of authority to instruct. Only textbooks approved by the ecclesiastical authorities will be used in the public schools for such religious teaching.

Article Thirty-seven

Directors of State associations for physical education and preliminary instruction of "Avanguardisti" and "Balilla," in order to render possible religious teaching and assistance for the youth in their charge, will arrange so that the schedule will not prevent fulfillment of religious duties by boys on Sundays and fixed religious holidays.

Similarly directors of public schools will arrange as regards assemblies of scholars on holidays.

Article Thirty-eight

Professors of the Catholic University of the Sacred Heart and the dependent Institute of Mary the Im-

maculate are subordinated to *nulla osta* by order of the Holy See to insure that no exception will be able to be taken from a moral or religious point of view.

Article Thirty-nine

Universities, major and minor seminaries, whether diocesan, inter-diocesan or local, academies, colleges and other Catholic institutes for the formation and culture of ecclesiastics will continue to depend solely upon the Holy See without any interference on the part of scholastic authorities of the Kingdom.

Article Forty

Degrees in sacred theology issued by faculties and approved by the Holy See will be recognized by the Italian State.

Similarly diplomas will be recognized which are conferred in schools of paleography, the archive of science and documentary diplomacy existing in the library and the archives of the Vatican City.

Article Forty-one

Italy will authorize for use in the kingdom and colonies of pontifical knightly honours, by means of registration of the patent nomination to be made effective by presentation of the patent and written request of the interested party.

Article Forty-two

Italy will admit recognition by royal decree of noble titles conferred by the Supreme Pontiff even after 1870 and also those to be conferred in the future. In cases to be determined such recognition will not be subject to an initial payment of tax.

Article Forty-three

The Italian State recognizes organizations dependent on "Azione Cattolica Italiana," inasmuch as they, as the Holy See has declared, exercise activity outside all political parties and are under the immediate direction of the hierarchy of the church for diffusion and propaganda of Catholic principles. The Holy See takes the present occasion of the stipulation of this concordat to renew to all ecclesiastics and members of religious orders in Italy the prohibition against joining or taking part in any political party.

Article Forty-four

If in the future any difficulty should arise on the interpretation of the present concordat, the Holy See and Italy will proceed equably to an amicable solution.

Article Forty-five

The present concordat will be effective on the exchange of ratification contemporaneously with the

treaty stipulated between the high contracting parties eliminating the Roman Question. With the becoming effective of the present Concordat, all regulations deriving from concordats made by former Italian States will cease to have effect. Austrian laws, laws and regulations, decrees and ordinances of the Italian State at present effective, are abrogated when the present Concordat becomes effective, insofar as they are in opposition to the terms of this Concordat.

In order to carry into effect the present Concordat, there will be nominated immediately after the signing thereof, a commission composed of persons chosen by both parties.

III

FINANCIAL CONVENTION

Article One

Italy undertakes to pay upon the exchange of ratifications of the treaty, to the Holy See the sum of 750,000,000 Italian lire and to hand at the same time to the Holy See Italian five per cent negotiable consolidated bonds—with coupons falling due on June 30 next—to the nominal value of 1,000,000,000 Italian lire.

Article Two

The Holy See declares that it accepts the above as

a definite settlement of its financial relations with Italy depending upon the events of 1870.

Article Three

All deeds to be executed for the effectuation of the treaty, this convention and the Concordat shall be exempt from all taxes.

APPENDIX B

AN HISTORIC DOCUMENT [1]

Translated from the *Osservatore Romano*, of February 12-13, 1929

Official Information

In the Hall of the Popes of the Apostolic Lateran Palace, at twelve o'clock noon, a treaty was signed between the Holy See and Italy, whereby the "Roman Question" was settled, a Concordat to regulate the religious status of the Church in Italy was reached, and a definite financial agreement was juridically concluded: the chief signers thereto being His Eminence, the Most Reverend Pietro Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State to His Holiness, His Excellency, Signor Cavaliere Benito Mussolini, Prime Minister and Head of the Italian Government. The solemn pact was signed in the presence of Monsignor Francesco Borgongini Duca, Secretary of the Sacred

[1] Note: This is published as a historic document. It appeared in the original in the *Osservatore Romano* the day after the Treaty and Concordat were signed. It is by Count dalla Torre, and was translated by Gabriel A. Zema, S.J.

Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; Monsignor Giuseppe Pizzardo, Assistant Secretary of State, and the Hon. Professor and Doctor of Laws, Francesco Pacelli, Jurisconsult of the Holy See. Representing Italy were their Excellencies Signor Alfredo Rocco, Minister of Seals; Signor Dino Grandi, Under-secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Signor Francesco Giunta, Secretary of the Presidency of the Council.

It was on the feast of Our Lady of Lourdes, merciful Protectress of the Papacy, on the feast of her whose special prerogative of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed as a dogma to the whole world in the Cathedral of the Popes, that the solemn pact between Italy and the Holy See, between Church and State, was signed.

"The Solemn Hour"

I

Terms of the Roman Question

The significance of the Roman Question has been accurately defined in a letter by Pope Leo XIII concerning the government of the Church, addressed to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, June 15, 1887:

> The authority of the Supreme Pontiff, instituted by Jesus Christ and conferred upon St. Peter, and through him to us, his legitimate successors, the Roman Pontiffs, is destined to perpetuate in the world

to its very end the redemptive work of the Son of God. This power has been enriched by the most noble prerogatives, endowed with exalted powers of its own, and juridical powers as well, such as are required in the government of a true and perfect society. Hence that authority by its very nature and by the express will of the Divine Founder of the Church cannot be subject to any earthly power whatever, but must actually enjoy the most ample liberty in order to carry on its sacred ministry.

For since the well-being of the entire Church depends upon this supreme power and upon the free exercise thereof, it was of the greatest importance that its original liberty and independence should be assured, guaranteed and defended throughout the ages in the person of him in whom it was invested.

. . . It must be carefully borne in mind, however, that the reason for the liberty and independence of the Papacy in the exercise of its Apostolic ministry has a greater value and a peculiarly distinctive force when applied to Rome, the natural residence of the Supreme Pontiffs, the centre of the life of the Church and the capital of the Catholic world.

In Rome, where the Pontiff ordinarily resides, the centre whence he directs, teaches, and commands; so that all the Faithful may pay him dutiful respect from every part of the world and render him obedience with security and trust;—it is in Rome that it is especially necessary that he be in such status of independence that not only shall his liberty be not in the least curtailed by anyone, but that none be there to violate it.

Calling to mind the historical background of the civil supremacy of the Church, providentially sustained over the upheaval of medieval empires and kingdoms and uninterruptedly preserved in spite of the stormy vicissitudes of a thousand years, a shield of the Holy See and the mainstay of Italian culture, Pope Leo XIII's letter vindicated the re-establishment of this civil sovereignty independent of any "different form (of government) and (territorial) extension"; for it is the only expression and safeguard of

real visible sovereignty according to the precepts of international law.

Such policy fully shows that this juridical guaranty has always been looked upon as the means to a spiritual end of the free and independent government of the Church; that it was, therefore, necessary for the influence of religion that it be claimed not for itself, not in behalf of any temporal dominion whatever, but only to vindicate inviolable rights and undeniable duties associated with the God-given ministry of the Papacy.

"They venture to assert," declared Leo XIII in an allocution to Cardinal Alimonda and to the Italian priests who had journeyed as pilgrims to Rome, "that the vindication of the Pontiff's rights is dictated by a spirit of ambition and worldly grandeur! . . . Our aim scales far loftier heights than that—it is the cause of our very liberty and independence that we espouse."

It was an attitude of mind shared by all the Popes, from Leo down to Pius XI. In his first Encyclical Pius XI ("Ubi Arcano Dei") saw and placed the same Roman Question in that great framework of world affairs which he made a matter of deep study and concern. He studied moral evils and proposed those remedies which could only be administered to mankind by religion and the Church, after they had been restored to their ancient place of honour.

"By the violation of the guarantees providentially

secured to the liberty of the Roman Pontiff," declared the Pope, "an abnormal situation has been brought about that is a source of grave and permanent disturbance of the conscience of Catholics throughout the world. . . . We protest in defence of the rights and dignity of the Apostolic See not indeed through a spirit of vain and worldly ambition, which should indeed be unworthy of us, but purely in behalf of conscience."

Thus every objection was answered. Every subtle equivocation was answered by which (Masonic) sects tried to misrepresent the Roman Question as a "political question" before Italians and before all peoples —or tried to place the protests and representations of the Holy See on the same level as the protests of powerless princes in times past against the birth of a new political unity and the juridical succession of a new Italian State.

Truth was nevertheless unyielding. The Roman Question was purely a religious question which the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, the Head of the Church and not merely the Sovereign of the Papal States, declared to be unsolved.

When there was question, therefore, in 1870 of the ancient and traditional guarantee of the Pope's free and independent pastoral office and of his liberty and independence, an altogether essential and inviolable right existed—a right that can never be confused with nor measured by the material element of

the guarantee itself. . . . The Supreme Pontiff himself is not an arbiter of that right, because it is inherent in the Divine constitution of the Church. But the means of establishing that guarantee—its extent and conditions—of this the Pope is the sole arbiter: he alone is the judge.

II

The Precedents of Sixty Years

These principles, these fixed posts of historical groundwork of sixty years remained unchanged from the pontificate of Pius IX to that of Pius XI. They can be traced logically and directly to the great question which in its uninterrupted existence amongst countless vicissitudes and perodical vindications of its claims, does not change. It does not change when its claims are boldly denied; it does not change in spite of studied trickery to drag it from its rightful juridical status, to see it in an unnatural connotation, and to strip it of its spiritual characteristics, moral and juridical. That question does not change as long as the Popes, concerned only for the religious interests of the people, and more than ever gravely threatened by disturbances in the field of ideas by social and political upheavals and actual war—show themselves ready to consider any solution that will remedy the losses and damages to the Church and to society as long as it will safeguard the integrity of the Church's principles and the inviolability of her rights.

APPENDIX B

Leo XIII

The name of Leo XIII becomes grander, more exalted and auspicious at this moment, when fairness and peace are realized. Leo XIII was not spared by the (Masonic) sects, as Pius IX had not been spared before him. He appeared to be even a greater target of abuse than Pius. Not because he asserted his relentless resistance to them, but rather because of the indomitable genius with which, at this crisis as at all others, he unmasked every sworn doctrinaire, exposed all ingenious trickery and presented his own clear, logical and irrefutable position before the consciousness of the people. For his defence was not only the buckler of sound reason, but also the breastplate of unassailable argument that appealed to those who loved truth and goodness.

Pope Leo XIII's success in putting the Roman Question on the high road of settlement won greater opposition for him. Indeed he was a special object of attack because he strenuously pleaded for the need of prompt solution. The venerable Pontiff loved the Italian people and the land of his birth with the deepest love of father, pastor, and we may say even, of poet and artist, against all the attacks and treacheries of his adversaries who were ever quick to impede every project that he sought to carry out. And yet, he was ready to come to terms if, as he was wont to say, Italy placed her trust in the Church. If no settlement was reached it was not because his desire

of peace was less keen even against the overreaching opposition of the (Masonic) sects who managed to dominate the too vacillating wills of certain Italian statesmen.

It was a dream of peace as yet to be realized when the white smoke rose from the Vatican hill, announcing Giuseppe Sarto as the gloriously reigning Pontiff, Pope Pius X.

Pius X

But the unfriendly hold on affairs of State went on as usual and the attitude became even more unfriendly because of the meekness of Pius X. The peace-loving soul of the saintly Pontiff sought every friendly approach that was possible and every means of condescension consonant with charity and justice. There was talk then only of "temporal power," breaking down at a single stroke all previous agreements to the contrary and giving these two words an erroneous significance with the hope of destroying the very terms of the question. In place of religious liberty was postulated ambition of temporal rule; instead of a solemn vindication of a spiritual sovereignty, there was question only of a grasping desire of material gain in the minds of the foes of *Pio Decimo.*

With that characteristic firmness that naturally manifested itself whenever the dignity and the rights of the Church were questioned he stayed every ad-

vance of her foes. He made it a point to speak clearly at all times and to insist on the Roman Question, on the prerogatives of the Holy See and on the liberty and independence of the Pope, without so much as mentioning the so-called "temporal power"; —and whenever reference to it had to be made it was merely "civil sovereignty," and even those terms were limited by the qualifying condition that should forestall a divided opinion even amongst Catholics. He had in mind at all times the claims of the Pope, and nothing but those fair and inviolable claims.

Prima lo spirituale—His spiritual rights were of first importance, His Holiness averred, and he gave eloquent proof of his chagrin to the Italians, showing that the uncompromising *non expedit* was based "on very grave reasons intended for the supreme good of society which must at all costs be saved from disaster." He made that same policy clear to the Bishops who would "recognize their sacred mission for the good of souls and the supreme interests of their churches." In 1911 this paper voiced the opinion that there should be no question about the "temporal power" *in se* and *per se* but question only of guarantees, and of the sovereign rights of the Holy See which was therefore disposed to consider any feasible and legitimate parley looking towards an adequate solution of the problem. The policy of "Catholic Action" made known in Venice in 1913 was clearly that Italian Catholics should claim again

the liberty and independence of the Pope and that they should persuade themselves that because of the Church's infallible teaching the protection and the liberty of their religion would be thereby assured, and that their conscience would no longer be fettered by unjust laws. This was their clear duty, since it is for the Holy See alone to establish the norm of a fair treaty or the limits of a satisfactory Concordat. When at the time of the "Social Week" in Milan of the same year the slogan of the "civil liberty of Catholics" was raised, it augured well even then that peace between Church and State and the adequate solution of a problem so much sought for, and that involved such opposite views, could be reached only through the constitutional will of the greater number.

Benedict XV

Rumours, hopes, suggestions, when the fury of the war was at its height, hinting that in the event of victory for the Central Powers "temporal power" should be restored, yielded to no less an authority than Cardinal Gasparri, Benedict XV's Secretary of State, faithful interpreter of his policy as Pope and as Sovereign, who spoke in the following words in the *Stimmen der Zeit* for September, 1916:

> Faithful to its policy of neutrality the Holy See has no intention of causing embarrassment to the Government in any way and it places its confidence in God, awaiting the dispositions of His providence for a systematic and satisfactory adjustment of its affairs.

Its reliance is not on foreign arms, but upon the triumph of justice which it believes the Italian people will mete out with an increased appreciation of the value to its own interests as well.

No one realized then that such significant and memorable words sowed in a soil as yet untilled were to yield a harvest of friendly interest in the field of politics and of law of a more maturely educated Italy, and that we were to-day to see the fruitful yielding of the seed sown so far back. At any rate as we look back it is clear that those words uttered in the din of battle and enunciated again in the calm of peace once more gave expression to a great principle involved in the question. "Not from foreign armies" was the keynote of campaign, and that meant "not through foreign Governments." The Roman Question was not an international question in the sense of outside interference, but a morally supra-national question that was closely linked to the religious interests of all Christian peoples; a question, moreover, that had a legal force between the Italian State and the Holy See just as in the case of the original entanglement. This paper declared even as late as 1927: "We do not invoke foreign powers or international tribunals. Upon foreign Powers it will devolve only to take note of such formulæ as usage may dictate, in whatever accord Italy may make with the Holy See."

If Pius X had thus far cleared the field of controversy of those stubborn and underhand insinuations implied in the phrase "temporal power," the work of

Benedict XV stands out in the fact that he refuted and overcame such international jealousies as were aroused by the (Masonic) sects under the pretext of setting the Italian conscience at ease and safeguarding the interests of the Italian State. In reality, however, they were attacking the loyalty and the honour of the people and the Government as well; for they should have rather pointed out the duty of settling a long-drawn-out conflict. This position which was so aptly taken with regard to the problem met with its logical development in the action taken by the same Pontiff at the visit of the Catholic Sovereigns to Rome.

In behalf of peace and only because this gift of God is one of the greatest blessings for mankind, only in order to mitigate the consequences of the war and to settle all differences arising amongst dissatisfied parties, to bind the nations into closer bonds of amity and to restore and quicken the spirit of brotherhood in the hearts of men;—it was especially for such motives as these that Benedict XV issued the encyclical "Pacem Dei Munus," "in order to relax the strictness of those conditions" which were required in such cases by "the Holy See, shorn of its civil supremacy." Here again the same "grave reasons"—in the spiritual and moral order—which governed the reservations and protests of the Popes, asked for an exception, a derogation from the rule. Here again, if the "Roman Question" had been

merely a "political question" and had been defended merely on a material basis, this new instance of the relaxation would never have occurred.

Pius XI

Finally, when on February 6, 1922, Pope Pius XI appeared unexpectedly on the Loggia of St. Peter's to bless Rome, Italy and the world, that indubitable omen of reconciliation became a new harbinger of hope in every heart. Everyone felt that the blessing of Pius XI brought with it a vague but not less real portent that the long and auspicious flight of Italian and world peace had been directed Romewards and was eventually to alight upon that Basilica, upon that residence of the Popes and of the soul of the Church as the terminus of its sojourn,—the long-sighed-for goal, the dearly cherished boon of the prayers of Catholics the world over.

For the current avowal that the rights of the Church and of the Holy See were intact, even if it silenced for a time the insolent and disrespectful comment concerning the Holy Father's blessing from the Loggia of St. Peter's, in no way lessened the importance of the mystical bond, at once generous and fatherly, with which the newly elected Pontiff was drawing his children far and near to himself, especially those nearest to him,—a bond that was a source of encouragement and high hope.

As a matter of fact, a few months later, in the

Encyclical of December 23, 1922, speaking of the mysterious and solemn hour of well-omened peace, the fatherly heart of the Pope and Primate of Italy thus expressed itself:

> Italy has had and will have nothing to fear from the Holy See. The Pope, whoever he will be, will always repeat: "I think thoughts of peace and not of affliction"; thoughts, therefore, of true peace that is inseparable from justice . . . It is for God to draw this hour unto us and to give its glad tidings. For men who are wise and of good will may that hour sound not in vain. It will be among the most solemn and auspicious hours for the restoration of the reign of Christ and for the peace of Italy and of the world.

III

Negotiations

And that hour has struck. Its sound was carried by the echo of Providence into the consciousness of him who, steering through the arduous course of power and responsibility, acknowledged and stabilized the traditions of the Italians. He recognized that their religious instincts were of first importance to the civic and social greatness of Italy and that in the Catholic Church and in the person of the Roman Pontiff must be recognized its most influential guide and its safest teacher.

It is now two years since Signor Mussolini first intimated his willingness to the Holy Father to solve the Roman Question. Prompted by his own keen appreciation of the matter and inspired by the well-known sentiments of his predecessors, the Pope se-

cured the approval of every Cardinal. The unanimous consent of the Sacred College to the head of the Italian government was that there would be need of private and confidential preliminary discussion of the matter. But even then it was stipulated that these tentative negotiations and conclusions on the Roman Question must proceed from and be defined in conjunction with the terms of a Concordat between the Church and the State and the adjustment of the Church's religious status in Italy. No nobler manner of procedure, the Holy Father felt, could be more worthy of a Father dealing with his children and his generous desire was heartily complied with.

Under these happy auspices the difficult task was undertaken and the settlement of this two-sided and very intricate problem was reached after some two hundred meetings. These meetings represented deep study and the discussion of the problem's many-sided aspects. It was a work of love and diligent effort and if one note more than another may be stressed, it is that of mutual good will and understanding of both State and Church.

The long-sought-for solution was reached on the following basis . . . The Italian State subscribes to a treaty that abrogates the Law of Guarantees; she recognizes the principle of an effective and full power and the sovereign jurisdiction of the Supreme Pontiff over a determined territory, the City of the Vatican; she also assigns a sum of money in recom-

pense for ancient provinces, pontifical properties and losses incurred by ecclesiastical units. She stipulates a Concordat upon the agreements between the Church and the Italian State. The Holy See declares the Roman Question as settled and it recognizes among the constitutive and formative elements of that settlement, the Kingdom of Italy.

And here the pen might well write down its *Nunc dimittis.* In the sight of so noble a deed it could not do better than rewrite the famous epitaph: *Nullum par elogium.* But there is no question of this. Eulogy is matter only for history,—history that will transmit for all time the memory of a peace that was reached between two Powers whose conflict had too long been injurious to religion and to culture, the two primary sources of life and social order, and it will acknowledge the greatness of soul of a Pontiff, the wisdom of a Monarch, the wise and fruitful labours of the two principal representatives vested with extraordinary powers.

It will be for us to tell of the occasion of the solemn ratification of the pacts—a less exalted, but none the less a useful and praiseworthy service—and to point out the principal lines of agreement in behalf of public opinion. For public opinion is after all not satisfied with flashes of enthusiasm nor is it formed by intuitive knowledge, but should be grounded on solid convictions only. Let us go back, then, to the grand significance of a question that is deeply stirring the

conscience of the people. And it is indeed expedient to-day to call the attention of Catholics and of Italians to the main points and to the fundamental characteristics of the compact.

IV

City of the Vatican

The "City of the Vatican" is, first of all, Pontifical territory. It gathers together, shelters within its walls, and exhibits to the veneration of the whole world all the great, significant and precious things that piety, art, science, life and history have offered as an immortal tribute of love and honour to the sacred tomb and the exalted throne of the Prince of the Apostles and to the venerated majesty of his successors. It will be as much territory as the Holy Father judges strictly necessary for his liberty and independence and as acknowledged Father of the Universal Church and as a visible and real sovereign. Let us repeat the word *visible*. It is truly such a sovereignty. A thousand conjectures and long speeches and extensive notices have been broadcast in recent years about the idea of extended territory, though it is indeed smaller than any modern State, and smaller even in proportion to the vastness of jurisdiction of its Sovereign and the number of its subjects.

"We do not claim," this paper declared in 1927, "a guaranty of independence that renders injuries and

damages impossible, such as would be the case in an absolute guarantee; such absolute immunity would be impossible in this world. States far more powerful cannot expect this and they have never actually enjoyed it." Yet, no one endowed with common sense would ever suppose that the scarcely discernible borders of Villa Pamfili, or the mere patch of the Sacchetti pinewoods, the bare slopes of a Monte Mario, a square block, a roadway and a group of houses, could be sufficient, we do not say to render the sovereignty of the Pontiff more secure, but simply more visible.

On the other hand this sovereign right, recognized, proclaimed and even codified in the interests of Italy, exercised within or beyond the limits granted by the guarantees . . . however insignificant, because under the control of the Holy Father, becomes at once vested with a power, juridical and moral, that no extent of territory could ever have given it in the matter of efficacy and security.

Here in the little sacred city the civil sovereignty of the Holy Father will be so welded into the religious, his State become so identical with the very principle of his authority, that no violation of it under whatever pretext or political sophistry, it were assumed, could ever be justified or explained in the light of legal equity and culture. To attempt to spoliate this territory would be to cast an insult at the intelligence of the whole world, dishonour the

truth of history and stain the hands of justice with sacrilege and such audacity as was perpetrated in Anagni; it would be an act comparable to that which caused the deportation of Pius VI and the capture of Pius VII. Such spoliation would have to be proclaimed under the dark suspicion that the attack was aimed not at self-protection, as was so often pitifully claimed, pretending to save the spiritual, but striking only at the civil right of possession, but it would mean robbing the Pontiff and the Pastor of the Faithful of that least strip of material territory from which the spiritual cannot prescind here on earth. What Leo XIII repeated over and over again in his discourse of October 8, 1883, would then be verified in fact without hope of escape into the deceptive arms of sophistry. "The real purpose of the (Masonic) sects," the Holy Father said, "was to strike at the Church and at its Head."

The consciousness of such hardihood cannot fail to constitute a very natural proof of the inviolability and stability of the treaty: for no territory, however extensive, let us repeat it, and no army, no arsenal (as a mere glance at the political geography of the world will show) could set up any defence against an outrage which will nevertheless have imposed a terrible yoke of insult and suffering that will be to no purpose. This would certainly also be the case if a very well fortified harbour were owned by the Vatican City.

Merely the opening out of property lines is not essential either to the right or to the exercise of sovereignty, even in the event, as has been noted in the press, of the possession of a Papal harbour. We may point out countries like Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, Luxembourg, in Europe, as cases to the point, with San Marino and Andorra; Afghanistan in Asia, Abyssinia in Africa, and Bolivia in America—all of them without outlet to the sea. This strip of land, scarcely discernible in the wide expanse of the Roman Campagna, would look like a characteristic and eloquent example of certain juridic and diplomatic fictions and—of the littleness of human things. For it would be threaded out between lengthy territorial limits, with a precariously narrow diameter to be watched over, so that it would still need more ample protection than all the rest of the Papal State taken together. Even with a hundred-eyed Argus to watch it, it would remain an easy and dangerous breeding ground for disorders, and would be most inconvenient and difficult to be placed under any sort of effective discipline or control.

The financial readjustment that is part of the Italo-Vatican treaty is essential to a valid practico-juridical status. It corresponds, as we have said, to the right that was recognized by the Law of Guarantees itself, which was a recompense to the Holy See for the spoliation of ecclesiastical property and for the old States of the Church that also provided ma-

terial aid for the increasing spiritual needs of Rome.

It was the Holy Father's duty to make known these needs so that the necessary means of satisfying that right might not be totally denied. By acceding to this request Italy has performed a graceful act of justice and equity.

A capital sum based on the annual apportionment, it will be remembered, had been established in the Law of Guarantees. This sum duly fixed by the Italian State was kindly reduced to a minimum amount by the Holy Father.

V

The Concordat

Throughout these negotiations the treaty was never confused with the Concordat by Pius XI. All pacts and juridical covenants were according to his Holiness' express wish to be enshrined in a spiritual background and their later developments not less than their legal and historical associations were to be ennobled and vitalized by a spiritual significance. For, the spiritual interests of the Italian people must have a very high place in these stipulations and they must be considered as very precious and as an essential element in any process of reconciliation, whether there is question of the stability of the guarantees themselves or the proper regard for the rights and liberty

of the Pope. These spiritual interests were to form, as it were, a spiritual fortress about the city of the Vatican more powerful than any walled city or patrolled harbour.

The spirit of fidelity to religion and to the Church coursing in the veins of their forefathers, quickened in the children of a nation in whose bosom Providence placed the See of the Vicar of Christ, will inspire the Italians to safeguard the pontifical interests as their own, and their pledge of full moral sympathy linked by the bond of virtuous living would in due time build up a new vanguard of Christian legions in the beautiful peninsula of the Mediterranean.

"May Italy draw nigh to God," Leo XIII used to repeat to those who saw internal obstacles to an adequate solution of the Roman Question; and "the Lord will provide" was the fervent longing of Pius X. Pius X indeed desired such a boon; Pius XI realizes the long cherished hope.

Once upon a time, none other was needed in order to save a defenseless, humble convent of nuns from the assault of the savage foe than Our Saviour in the Blessed Sacrament, lifted aloft in the pure hands of His poor handmaid, St. Clare. In the same way, enshrined in the heart of the people of Italy, He will return to the defence of religious welfare, of education, morals and the entire spiritual life of the nation for present and future generations. This then, will be their treasure and the saving leaven of civic vir-

tues. It is the chief characteristic, the golden seal of that solemn event.

The slur and sneer so often repeated that the Holy Father, covetous of power and dominion, had shut himself up in his Petrine prison, "wasting with love of conquest," is void and vanishes for ever.

To the peace offered him, to the justice accorded him, to the wealth of benefits that the Church and Christianity will enjoy because of the liberty and independence of their Head,—Pius XI replies by granting his pastoral gift to a reconciled Italy—an unfailing pledge of its most hopeful prosperity.

Dreaming of this happy moment seven years ago the Holy Father had said: "No loftier hymn of praise could have been sung the world over, than that song of the Angels, greeting the humble and peaceful coming of Christ into the world because the Shaper of events and the Author of new mercies was come into our midst."

And that Canticle we too repeat, that it may re-echo in every corner of the globe and in every heart of the heavenly kingdom; in every land and in every soul of the Christian world—"Glory to God in the highest" because He hath given "peace to men of good will."

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